EMPIRE CLUB ADDRESSES

1945-46

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

ERIC F. THOMPSON,
PRESIDENT OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, FOR 1945-46

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE
MEMBERS DURING THE
YEAR 1945-46

Forty-third year of Issue

GOD SAVE THE KING

T. H. BEST PRINTING CO., LTD.
TORONTO, CANADA.

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The Empire Club of Canada

YEAR BOOK PUBLISHING COMMITTEE,
1945-46

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PRINTED IN CANADA
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YEAR 1945-46

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**Messrs. W. B. Hastings and Thomas H. Howse were appointed to the Executive Committee to replace the Late F. B. Fetherstonhaugh and Mr. Gordon Janes.

THE ROYAL EMPIRE SOCIETY
AND
THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

The Royal Empire Society of London, England, and The Empire Club of Canada at Toronto were both founded for a single purpose and with a common aim:—The strengthening of the bonds of unity within the Empire. This mutual objective is prosecuted with vigorous enthusiasm by the members of these organizations on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

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The opinions and views expressed in the Addresses, contained in this volume, are those of the speakers themselves and do not necessarily carry the full or partial endorsement of The Empire Club of Canada.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

"ADULT EDUCATION"

AN ADDRESS BY

SIR RICHARD LIVINGSTONE, M.A.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, September 20, 1945

MR. THOMPSON: Ladies and Gentlemen, at this special meeting of the Club, being held in advance of our opening date October 4th, and called for the purpose of honouring our guest speaker, I desire to extend a very warm welcome to all Empire Club members and to express the hope that they will continue to support the club executive by turning out to as many club luncheons as possible throughout the year.

I would also like to say a word of welcome to the members of the Royal Commission on Education, both ladies and gentlemen, who are in attendance; amongst them, our Immediate Past President, Mr. Charles Conquergood who is also a member of that Commission. We are delighted to have them with us, particularly on this occasion, owing to the character of the address.

The Empire Club was, I feel, most fortunate in having Mr. Conquergood as its President during the past year and it is my desire to publicly thank him, on your behalf, for the splendid work done. The Club prospered greatly under his excellent leadership and it was mainly through his efforts that we had such a large increase in our membership during the past season. (Applause.)

The war just over has definitely proven that, for the peace of the world as a whole, a United Empire is imperative; therefore, we Canadians of today should not only be ever mindful of the benefits we are enjoying as members of this Great British Commonwealth and Empire, but should see that the work of our ancestors, in building this glorious Empire, be carried on and the bonds which unite Canada to the Motherland, ever continue.

Efforts are being made in some parts to destroy the Empire structure, and it is up to us to do our utmost to see that it is kept together. In this connection I would like to quote Lord Beaverbrook's recent remarks that appeared in last Tuesday's Globe and Mail, which were in part:

> "This edifice was built slowly and with much labour. Those who took part in the building, supported by all the sons of the Empire who fought so valiantly for freedom and liberty, must see the necessity for repelling now those who seek disintegration."

May I also remind you at this time of Mr. Churchill's famous words, in which he stated that he was not placed in his position as Prime Minister to liquidate the Empire. Surely in these times, it is likewise our task as members of this Club to keep the Empire strong and I appeal to each of you to do your part.

Mr. Thompson then introduced the Guest Speaker as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen, also members of our radio audience:

The Empire Club of Canada is again honoured in having as its guest speaker, one of Britain's most distinguished educationists, in the person of Sir Richard Livingstone, M.A., D. Litt., L.L.D.

Sir Richard, who is a graduate of New College, Oxford, was for a period of 9 years, Vice-Chancellor of Queens University, Belfast, later becoming President of Corpus Christi College, whilst today, he in addition holds the very high office of Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.

I might also say that he has a close connection with the University of Toronto, in that, during his last visit to this city, at which time he addressed this club, he was honoured by our University with the degree of Doctor of Literature.

His present visit to Toronto is at the invitation of Victoria College for the purpose of giving the Burwash

Lectures, which no doubt a number of you gentlemen have had the privilege of hearing during the past three days.

Our guest of honour is not only an outstanding classical scholar, but an author of note. Amongst his prominent books are the following:

The Greek Genius and Its Meaning to us.

The Mission of Greece and Greek Ideals and Modern Life.

It is now my pleasure to call upon our speaker, who will address you on the subject,

"Recent Educational Developments in England".

Ladies and Gentlemen, I present to you, Sir Richard Livingstone!

Sir Richard Livingstone: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I had the honour of speaking to your Club in 1927, and I have just had an opportunity to see what changes in one's signature are made by the lapse of 17 years.

Now I have a confession to make. I had quite forgotten, I am ashamed to say, the subject on which I was to have spoken. I was to have written to your President and given the subject which he has just read out, and then it went entirely out of my mind, and I have come to speak of something else but something which I can't help feeling is more important, and that must be my excuse. The subject of which I was to speak is "Adult Education". I wish I could call it something else. I never observe those two words as having a very stimulating effect. The word "adult" is not exciting, and to a certain number of people "education", their formal education seems to have left many unpleasant memories. So I should like to call what is a very important thing by a different name, and I was trying to find what it is and what needs it should meet.

It should meet the needs of three classes of people. In my own country I am sorry to say that more than 80 per cent of the population leave the school for good at fourteen. That is changing now. But what can you do by the age of fourteen? You can lay the foundations on which the edifice of education should be raised, but all you can do really is to lay the foundations. The house is not built at fourteen, and even if you keep people on at school until fifteen or sixteen, the house is not built.

Education is something that bears interest at compound rates, and it is after the year of sixteen, often at later years, that it begins to bear interest. If a man's education stops at sixteen and is never taken up again, he goes through life in some sense maimed. The only way you can enable him to fill up the gaps which this short education has left is through some opportunity for extended thought in later life. That is one class which you can only help in this way.

Another class are the people who very likely stay at home until eighteen, but don't get much taken hold of by the intellectual side of the place. I have taught at a Secondary School and what impressed me most was that at least 50 per cent of the boys, I should have said, were getting very little from the purposes for which the school presumably had been founded—that is the intellectual side of education. They were getting a great deal from another side of the school—the life—but the intellectual side, which is after all important, passed very much over their heads. They enjoyed the school life, they enjoyed the games, they enjoyed the friendships, and they regarded the time they spent in the class room as the price which they had to pay for these other enjoyments, a price which in some cases they paid in as small a degree as possible.

Now that class, the people who go through school but whose interest in education does not wake up until later, are a pretty large class, and they include some very important people. I don't know if you recognize where this quotation comes from—"It was not until I had almost completed my twenty-second year that the desire for learning came upon me." The person who wrote those words was Mr. Winston Churchill, and I dare say many people who have read his early autobiography will remember when he was a subaltern in India, it suddenly dawned upon him that there was a whole world which he had never entered at all, and how his education began then, and of course because he had a fair amount of leisure as a subaltern in India, that education could be carried on better than most people at the age of twenty-two would find at all possible to do.

Now there is an important class, the people whose interest in education does not wake up in school, and they are a large class. And I suspect there may be even in this audience some people in this class, because the fact is that education in its real intent is something practically useful. Unless you can use it, every bit of it, it is missing its purpose. But of course at school one hardly sees the uses of it.

Some people are simply industrious and do what they are told, but to a large number of people it really does not mean very much. Now all that changes as soon as those people get out into the world and begin to see life. Put a boy down in an occupation. It dawns on him that there are certain things which he could have got at school which would be very useful to him, but in most cases the opportunity for getting those things has gone. I won't say the *only way* but the *natural* way is to provide through what we call adult education, a chance of taking education up again.

And then, the third class, the people who have worked well at school and University, and have got a lot out of it. Even then, quite as much as anybody else, need opportunities I would suggest for further study. One can't by the age of eighteen or twenty-one fill up one's self with all the food and equipment that one needs for the journey of life. If one just stops there at twenty-one and attempts to go through life with what one has collected by that age, it is inevitable that in ten or twenty years one tends to get out of date.

However good one's education is, however much one has profited by it, still the world changes: new things come up over the horizon and are not familiar to one.

One sees them but does not really understand them.

And that of course is one of the reasons—it has two effects. It is responsible I think partly for the gulf which sometimes exists between the older generation and the younger, even between parents and children. The older generation doesn't understand, does not feel themselves fully at home in the world in which the younger generation grows up and is accustomed to.

And then of course, apart from that, all people, human beings, no less than motor cars, need re-conditioning. One is familiar with the disease of arterio-sclerosis, the hardening of the arteries which comes on in later life. Well there is such a disease as hardening of the mental arteries, and that comes on very quickly. If one is going to keep alive, abreast with the present world, it is very difficult to do that unless one has opportunities for thinking methodically about it, and those are the opportunities which Adult Education ought to provide.

In England we continually write to the "Times" and point out how ignorant we are of many things we ought to know. You get a letter saying, we don't know enough about the Empire, we don't know enough about China, not enough about Russia, the U. S. A., we don't know enough about economics, and all sorts of things. And of course those complaints are quite justified.

The remedy which the writers of the letters usually propose is that they should be put in the school program. Well the school program is full to bursting already. What is wanted is to take things out of it, not to put things into it. And actually, unless you have real good teachers—and real good teachers. imaginative teachers are not very common—you would find that if you put on the school program classes on American history, classes I am afraid even on the Empire, would find most of it would run like water over the ducks' backs.

Well what is the remedy, but to give people an opportunity to study these things later on in life, not to attempt to push all into the curriculum, but as each thing comes on the horizon—and in the next ten years many things will come on the horizon—you ought to give opportunities for people to study them and to keep up to date. That you can only do by Adult Education.

I should like to emphasize a little more a point I have been trying to make about the importance of experience of life to study. I sometimes think that you can't really study a thing until you have done it. I think most teachers find that. We find at any rate in England that if you take your Teacher's Training diploma immediately after your degree, it is not nearly so profitable as if you take it after you have been doing a few years teaching. You have done the thing, you know the practice and problems, then you come back to the theory.

That applies to so many things. After all, supposing you have not got an automobile. Of course that is a supposition easier to make in England than here in Canada—suppose you have not got an automobile and went to lectures on a Motor Engine. How much would you remember of them at the end of six months? If, on the other hand, you have got your motor, and every time it has not started or stopped, and the electric system has gone wrong, and then you come back to have lectures, then you see what it is all about, and I am sure that is a principle which in Education we simply don't pay proper attention to—this principle that when you have done a thing, you want to study.

If you are a cynic you might almost say, a great deal of school education is compelling boys who don't want to listen, to study a thing which in the nature of things they can't understand.

In my youth there were things called "Sedlitz Powders", which sometimes were administered. It consisted of two powders, one in blue paper and one in white paper. If you put either of them in water separately, nothing much happened. When you mixed them, they fizzed. Now that is a parable of the point I have been trying to make. The proper Sedlitz powder of Education consists of two things—Experience of life on the one hand, Study of Theory on the other. Have the experience of life, without thought of it, it does not fizz. Have the theory of life, what you get in school and university, without the experience of it, it does not fizz either. Combine the two, and you get a very salutary draught.

Well now, you may say, come with something practical. Perhaps we agree with your general thesis—and I think it is very difficult to argue against—but in what you propose to do, how are you going to give people the opportunity to keep themselves up to date, and fill up the gaps which education has left? Private Reading! But then so many people don't know the right books to read, and private reading is not the same as discussion. You clearly get more, unless you are a very exceptional person, from studying with someone who really knows the subject and discussing it with people at the same time than by reading a book.

Then secondly, there are Evening Study Classes which in England are provided by the Workers' Educational Association, where you have a lecture lasting an hour, then you have a discussion lasting an hour. Admirable! Only those things have got to be taken in the evening, and many people have not got the physical energy to do it then. It was perfectly splendid to see in the Potteries, even during the war, men working up to nearly seven at night and then going straight from their work without food to attend classes. Magnificent! But you can't expect that from most people.

No, I feel we shall not really get far with this Adult Education until we make it Residential, until you have places where people can go to study and live. Now the advantages of Residential Study are these: in the first place, you can give your whole time to it. In England at any rate at the moment it is an advantage to get away from household cares, pre-occupations and difficulties. Then you get opportunities for talking those things over with other people, and discussion is the very breath of education. You meet people with different views from your own. You really thrash subjects out. That, to put it very briefly, is what I give as the case for the Residential type of education.

Now that kind of education exists already. People say, "How can you do it? It is already being done in the four Scandinavian countries. I will take the instance of Denmark. In Denmark you will find 60 Residential Colleges for Denmark's population of 3½ million. If you go inside of them, you will find farmers, laborers, small holders, domestic servants come there for courses lasting from three to five months,—paying at least half of the cost out of their own pockets, coming voluntarily, and this of course is the most miraculous of all—I have not time to explain it—but studying not as you might expect, Agriculture, or Vocational subjects, but taking courses of study in History and Literature.

Well you find this sort of thing not only in Denmark. It is the same in Sweden, where they have 59 Colleges. And different types of it in Finland and in Norway. A high level of intelligence diffused through the whole population which you won't find in most other countries. I don't like to allude to England, but may I just leave it open. But you do get in those countries an educated democracy, and of course it has an enormous economic value. A Dane said to me once, the excellent Danish butter and bacon which we in England had been enjoying are the product of the history and literature studies in the folk high schools of Denmark. As I say, that really exists already, and there is no reason why it should not exist elsewhere.

You may say: "Would people attend these schools if we had them?" I presume we are not differently situated from the Scandinavians, and I therefore think it is possible that we would have big organizations. But I would like to read you two letters which I must say I found a very moving one, which I had in 1943 from a poor woman up at Blackpool, who had read a book I had written. She says:

> "I left school at the age of thirteen, have worked very hard, being the oldest of twelve children I had very little chance of attending evening classes, and up to now have had little time for social life. After

> warwork I do feel the lack of education. Without education one seems to have no confidence. I am fifty-five years of age. Do you think I am too old to attend one of the schools you mentioned?"

Well I did not quite put it this way, but I had practically to write and say "If you had been born in Denmark or Sweden, there would be no difficulty at all, but I am afraid in England we have not got any of the schools you want at present."

Here is a letter I had from a sergeant in the Army Educational Corps, at one of the hostels in England. He says:

> "Last Sunday I was privileged to have a long conversation with a young man who has just been repatriated after three years, from a German prison camp. Briefly, he had been employed as a tailor's cutter and had no education but elementary school. During his stay at the prison camp he met a couple of Classics Masters and a Church of England parson, and took advantage to learn some Latin and Greek. He also pursued some of the best English and Russian literature",

then he goes on to say how he managed to remember enough of that splendid play by Emlyn Williams, "Night Must Fall", to have it produced in camp.

And then the writer goes on, "Lots of young men approached me regretting bitterly the absence of any opportunity to discuss such things as Central and local government, Education, and the press, and even Religion. I feel sure if the government could be persuaded to support a school, it would meet with a very large demand from the young men and women who will be leaving the Forces after the war."

Now that young man, who left school at fourteen and worked as a tailor's cutter, if he had not by accident during the war met these people, he would have been a very different human being. And must there not be hundreds and thousands of people like that?

Let me give you one instance. Newman College at

Cambridge last year offered a Summer School for Working Women. They had thirty places. They took no one who had a Secondary education and they had 700 applicants. There is evidence enough of a demand: what is wanting is the supply:

Well now how can people take Courses lasting three to five months. Well my own feeling is, you must have all kinds of courses. You must have courses lasting a week and a fortnight which people can take in the National holiday. Then for people who want to go further, well in England at any rate the educational authorities are prepared to give scholarships for these kind of things. I am sure if you started these short courses you would have an enormous response, and actually such a response exists in England at the moment.

The Co-Operative Union started summer schools lasting a week and a fortnight held in a College in Wales in 1939. The first year they had under 300 applicants. I went to one of the schools in 1942, then they had 600 people in the school and had to turn a number away. And those people are just of the British artisans and their wives.

I would like to emphasize that it is not only the people who have had an inadequate education, but we all want it. And it has been growing up in rather an informal and interesting way in England between the two wars. If you go to Oxford during the vacation, you will find always summer schools going on, all sorts of subjects—Education—India, China, and you get all sorts of people attending them.

Now I have come almost to my time, but I must say a word about what is actually being done in England in this direction. Of course this idea of residential adult education, you might say, it is a new idea of the war, and considering that the English have been pretty busy in other things, and also with a new educational development, you might not expect that much was done in that direction. I will just give you instances of residential colleges which have either been actually started or are in the process of being started.

The local authorities in Herfordshire and Wiltshire have started years ago—Wiltshire is largely agricultural, Herfordshire urban. The Women's Institutes have passed a resolution in favor of having Residential Colleges. My own University started in the Potteries in co-operation with the local educational authorities there, a college of this kind which is already open, but they have at present only one week for Residential Courses, but are planning to have longer ones.

Then at Mersey—this is the work of local business men—they are planning a college. They have the house and the last time I heard they have the local educational authorities to agree to support it.

Down in the Midlands near Aylesboro, a College is being opened the end of next month. The building has been given by a private person, and the local educational authorities will support it. The big stores, John Lewis, are starting a college of this kind on the Estate which they owned down on the Thames for their own employees. Again I don't know just how far that has gone.

That is rather interesting and you will see how things are moving, and no doubt will move a lot faster in the future. It is very English—it is done partly by private enterprise, and that I think is an excellent thing: some of it is done by public authorities. But on the whole, it is a combination of the two, and on the whole I think it is much better to start gradually instead of producing a complete outfit of colleges all over the place.

But I have no doubt it is the thing of the future. No man who has seen anything of Adult Education can doubt you get an almost 100% return from it. The most optimistic person about School education would not put the return so high.

I have not spoken about Canada because I don't know the circumstances here, but I remember a Rhodes scholar telling me of an experiment of Adult Education in Antigonish, which seemed to have gone very well, and also a very interesting experiment here in Simcoe County.

"THE LAST CANADIAN BATTLE AND THE SURRENDER OF THE GERMAN ARMY"

AN ADDRESS BY

LIEUT.-GENERAL CHARLES FOULKES,
C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, October 4, 1945

MR. THOMPSON: I deem it a great pleasure indeed to rise on behalf of the Empire Club of Canada and welcome our most distinguished guest of today, in the person of Lieutenant-General Charles Foulkes, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., who comes to us in his capacity as Chief of the General Staff in Canada.

General Foulkes, though born in England, was brought up in this country, having his early education in London, Ontario; later attending the Military Staff College at Camberley, England. He was first commissioned in the Canadian Militia as an officer of the Machine Gun Corps in 1923, transferring to the Royal Canadian Regiment as a Permanent Force Officer in 1926.

Prior to the commencement of World War 2, he held many important staff appointments in Canada, proceeding overseas at the outbreak of hostilities with the rank of Brigade Major. He returned to Canada in 1941, to accompany the 3rd Division overseas, following which, he was given command of the Regina Rifles subsequently being made Commandant of an Infantry Brigade in the First Division. In April, 1943, he was appointed Brigadier, General Staff, First Canadian Army.

In January, 1944, he was promoted to the rank of Major General, in command of the 2nd Canadian Infantry Division, which he took to France and fought through the historic battle of Falaise. In November, 1944, he was promoted to his present rank of Lieutenant-General and placed in command of the 1st Canadian Corps in Italy, which corps he took to Holland early this year in time to play the leading role in the final battles which brought about the collapse of the German Army.

Gen. Foulkes has kindly consented to tell us today about "The Last Canadian Battle and the Surrender of the German Army". Gentlemen—General Foulkes.

LIEUT.-GENERAL CHARLES FOULKES: Mr. President, Gentlemen: I deem it a great pleasure and a privilege to come here to talk to you today. This is the first talk that I have given in Canada since assuming the appointment of Chief of the General Staff.

I want to say it is very appropriate that my first talk should be in Toronto. I spent six very happy years as a very young soldier in your city in Government-occupied Stanley Barracks; and also because of the tremendous war effort which has been put into the Canadian Army by the people from Toronto and the surrounding area. I will have more to say to you about the contribution which this area has made to the Canadian Army.

Now in the short time I have today, I want to give you a picture of what I have termed "The Last Canadian Battle and the Surrender of the German Army". It was not the most spectacular battle of the war, but it was the only battle in which the Corps which I commanded really had a chance to use its full power. So I am going to talk to you today, not as Chief of the General Staff, but as a former Corps Commander, and I would suggest that during my remarks that you watch the diagram on the board which will demonstrate what I have to say.

Now in speaking about the last Battle, perhaps the most appropriate place to begin would be at Field Marshal Montgomery's last Conference. About the 20th of March Field Marshal Montgomery called together all the Division Generals in the group of Armies which he commanded and he said, more or less in these words, "Gentlemen, this is my last Battle Conference. This battle will end the war." And it did.

Now at this Conference Field Marshal Montgomery, as was his usual practice, went through the whole plan of the battle in more or less detail. His idea was that if every General knew what was in his mind, then if the battle went much faster than had been anticipated, every General on his own, could carry out the Field Marshal's intention. And that did stand us in very good stead, for the tempo of the battle did go faster than was anticipated.

Now the general plan of Field Marshal Montgomery in accordance with General Eisenhower's master plan. As you will remember, the First Canadian Army early in February and March had cleared the Boche from the left side of the Rhine, and the American Army had secured a bridgehead at Remagen across the Rhine.

Now the main plan was, first of all, to isolate the Northern edge of the Ruhr from the rest of Germany and they proposed to do so by using the 9th American Army, which was then placed under the command of Field Marshal Montgomery. This 9th Army was to make its thrust on the northern side of the Ruhr and so isolate that area from the rest of Germany.

And then the 2nd British Army and the 1st Canadian Army, which was under the command of General Crerar, was to form a deep bridgehead across the Rhine, and into that deep bridgehead the Field Marshal was going to pour his reserves and his administrative units, ready for a thrust across the North German Plain, with the ultimate objectives of Hamburg and Bremen.

Now this North German Plain was a very satisfactory area for the operation of Armoured Divisions. For this operation the Field Marshal had three Armies and a total of about 6,000 tanks, and it was his idea to loose these 6,000 tanks from this bridgehead and make straight for Hamburg and Bremen and finally on towards Berlin.

Now General Crerar's plan was for the 1st Canadian Army to form the left flank of this bridgehead preparatory to a thrust to the North and Northeast covering the left flank of the 2nd British Army.

Now all through the war the 1st Canadian Army has been on the left flank, and again we found ourselves on the left flank, for the job of covering the left flank, and forming the left half of the bridgehead.

Now General Crerar's outlined plan was for the 2nd Canadian Corps, which was under the command of General Simonds, to cross the Rhine at Emmerick, and cover the left flank of 30 Corps and then capture Zutphen, Hengelo and Deventer.

Now General Simond's plan was not to force a crossing at Emmerick, but to put the 3rd Canadian Division under command of the Br. 30th Corps across at Rees, and then to attack Emmerick from behind. And the Boche hates to be attacked from behind.

Now this plan was not unique, because all through the whole war Canadian Divisions have operated under British command, British divisions have operated under Canadian command, American divisions have operated under British command, British divisions have operated under American command, Canadian divisions have operated under American command, and American divisions under Canadian command. And in that way advantage could be taken of crossings made by other forces, so that we could reap the benefit of turning movements, like this one planned by General Simonds.

Now the 4th Canadian Division was to follow the 3rd Canadian Division at Rees, and cover the right flank while the 3rd Canadian Division was to clear the left side of the River Jissell then we were to construct a bridge at Emmerick. When that bridge was constructed then the 3rd Division was to come back under the command of General Simonds, and at that same moment the 1st Canadian Army was to take over the operation from the 2nd Army.

The 1st Canadian Corps was to secure the bridgehead west of Issel, including Appledoorn, Ede, Wagingen, and we were to open up the main road from Arnhem to Zutphen, and this route was to supply the Canadian Army during the course of attack into Germany.

Now if you will look at the diagram, that bridgehead left a big gap between the north head of the bridgehead and the Zuyder Zee. This was done because we wanted to invite the 25th German Army to come from the bridgehead and save us the difficulty of digging them out.

Now I want to go into a little more detail of the 1st Canadian Corps plan, which was the Corps I commanded at that time. As you will remember, the Germans were very sensitive about Arnhem. You will recall that the 2nd British Army, with all the paratroops at their disposal, attacked at Arnhem in September, and that unfortunately failed. Ever since that date, the Germans had been very sensitive at Arnhem. They anticipated we would cross at Arnhem, so the Boche had done a lot of preparations and he was able to overlook the ground between the Rhine and the Maas called the Island, and by blowing the dikes, he was able to flood the ground. When I took over the command of this sector, half the area was under water. The Boche had a water barrier of 2½ miles between ourselves and his Army on the other side of the Rhine.

My plan was, first of all, to clear the Boche off the Island, and that was to be done at the same time that General Simonds cleared Pannenden. Then we were to put an attack in across Issell toward Appledoorn. I had hoped that that attack would draw all the enemy reserves from Arnhem to the north, and as soon as those reserves had moved it was my hope to then force a crossing of the Rhine and secure a bridgehead across the Rhine near Arnhem. Therefore, by an enveloping movement I hoped to trap the German 25th Army between those two attacks.

The attack at Appledoorn was to be done by the 1st Canadian Division, in which the 48th Highlanders played a prominent part. Before this attack the 1st Canadian Division was placed under the Command of General Simonds, for the commencement of the operation. As there was complete confidence between Simonds and myself I was quite prepared to let Simonds start the attack, and I would take over as soon as communications allowed.

So the 1st Canadian Division was put under General Simonds for the initial part of the attack.

Now the 49th W. R. British Division was under my

Command, and the 5th Armoured Division, under the command of General Hofmeister, was held in reserve, so that we could use it towards Ede, or to put the 5th Armoured Division across at Arnhem and go straight through to the Zuyder Zee, and cut off all Boche between the Zuyder Zee.

Now that, roughly, was the plan.

Now let's look at how the plan worked out. The course of the battle was very encouraging, as you will all remember. The Paratroops were very successful, and within the first three days the 2nd British Army and the 9th U. S. Army had secured adequate bridgeheads across the Rhine, and within a week the 9th American Army had isolated the northern face of the Ruhr and along with the 12th Army group in the next two weeks succeeded in isolating the Ruhr.

At this time the progress was going so well, that the Field Marshal decided to abandon the plan to form a bridgehead, and the thrust towards Hamburg and Bremen was continued. So that things were looking very well about the 27th of March.

That required some adjustment to the Canadian Army plan. The 2nd Canadian Corps was then ordered to clear the west side of the Issel, and launch the Appledoorn attack. I was ordered to continue to clear the Island. About the 3rd of April both attacks went in and the Island was cleared without much opposition.

By that time the flood waters had receded and we had a chance to see what the roads were like.

Now about this time the Germans showed a serious reaction to our plan. Hitler had issued his famous order, which prohibited any withdrawals except upon a definite order from Hitler himself. In the last stages of the war, the best Commander the Allied forces had was Hitler, because he insisted on all his forces standing where they were, and that was exactly what we wanted. This meant that the 25th Germany Army were not going to take advantage of the escape route which we had left open for them, and it was quite evident they were going to stay in Holland and fight it out.

This required some adjustment in the Canadian plan. After we got to looking at the Island, I found that the roads on the Island, which had been under flood for about six months, would not stand the traffic which was necessary to support a corps of three divisions if we attacked across the Island.

I also found out that the Boche was moving his main reserves toward the left side of Arnhem. I laid a smoke screen all along the line, to draw his attention to the fact that perhaps we might be doing something in that direction. However, I felt it was necessary to gain surprise, therefore decided to change the point of attack, as General Simonds had cleared the right bank of the Issel, I decided to put my attack in at Westervoort and to take Arnhem from the right.

There were several advantages. One was I would gain surprise, and secondly, the Rhine was 254 feet across at Arnhem but the Issel was only 145 feet. My chief engineer, Brigadier Colin Campbell, recommended that we could build a bridge at Nimegen, and swing it into position across at Westervoort. That would mean if I was successful that I would have a tank brigade across the river within eight hours. Of course that was an advantage which every Commander hopes to get, to be able to launch tanks across into bridgehead in the first 24 hours, and the battle is really yours. So it was decided to carry on the attack at Westervoort.

We piled ammunition, moved guns and fired barrages, and had a lot of movement on the island.

The 49th Division were moved across at night and established at Westervoort. The 5th Army Division were moved across at Emmerick, so that as soon as the bridge was swung across, we would be able to push on to the Zuyder Zee.

The 1st Division put their attack in across the Issel on the 11th of April towards Appledoorn. The initial attack was successful, and they formed the bridgehead without much trouble. When they got across to the other side they were counter-attacked by some of the best German troops, and they had a very sticky time on the outskirts of Appledoorn.

On the 12th of April I launched the 49th Division across the Issel at Westervoort. The initial attack was quite successful. We used all the amphibians, Buffalos, L. C. A's, L. C. T's, and also naval landing craft, and about four o'clock in the afternoon we had a complete brigade across and by midnight a complete division fighting in the streets of Arnhem.

On the next night the decision was made to loose the 5th Division. They were pushed across the bridge and assembled on the outskirts of Arnhem. On the next morning the 5th Division was launched, with a directive they were to capture Ede, and then go straight through Barnevelt to the Zuider Zee. They were to cut off any Germans in that area.

This attack of the 5th Armoured Division cut off the Germans, and as soon as we cut the road going from Ede to Appledoorn, the Germans started to bolt from Appledoorn, down the main road to Ede and Utrecht.

During the night I received information that there were German columns moving on these two roads. At that time General Hoffmeister's headquarters were established at Otterloo. The headquarters was attacked seven times during the night. Everybody from the Division Commander down was out with rifles and guns of every description, and they fought off seven counter-attacks during the night. The next morning there were more dead lying around General Hoffmeister's headquarters than I have seen on any battle field since the days of Caen and Falaise. It was very amusing the next morning to hear the batmen vying with their officers as to who killed the most Boche the night before.

During the same night a battery of the 17th Field Regiment put up a very commendable show. They were at the left of Hoffmeister's headquarters, and they again were attacked some seven or eight times. They used up all the ammunition they had, and they finally beat off the Boche with spare barrels, crowbars, etc. I think it is the only case during the war in which a battery of artillery was overrun. They never lost a gun. (Applause.)

Now the result of these battles: The 49th Division moved on its axis and cleared the Boche, and took over from the 5th Division at Ede. The 1st Division moved on its axis to Hardwicke and Otterloo.

The 5th Division went straight through to the Zuider Zee, and got to Hardwicke just too late to cut off the remnants of the Germans. Unfortunately Seyss-Inquhart was in one of these boats which got away. The effect of this battle was that over 12,000 Boche were captured, many were killed and wounded, and the back of the 25th Germany Army was broken in this action.

The action of the Fifth Armoured Division was in my opinion the best action I have ever seen. The Armour went into the attack with all the zest and zeal for which it is known, and the two Brigade Commanders followed suit, and they destroyed every German in their path and cut them off between the Issell and the Zuider Zee.

It was very unfortunate that immediately after this battle the 5th Armoured Division was taken from under my command to go and clean up the Frieseland and Gronegin area and left me without an Armoured Division.

The picture from there: The first Canadian Division took over the area in the north of the Greebe line, which was the next German line, and the 49th Division took over the area in the south, and we patrolled up to the flooded area. I realized there was very little use in continuing this attack with two Divisions.

At this time we were getting a lot of information that the Boche intended to blow the dikes, flood Holland, withdraw behind the flooded area and fight it out. Now if you will look at the map, those areas marked in blue are the areas which could be flooded. At this particular period I had very, very good information. The Dutch had telephone lines running from my headquarters through to Amsterdam and The Hague, and they were passing information to us all the time; and this, with captured information, led me to believe that the Boche intended to blow the dikes, flood Holland, and retire behind the flood walls.

We also found out that the Commander of the 25th German Army, General Christiansen, had decided to abandon his post. However, I learned it too late, and he was replaced by General Blaskovitch who arrived after the Boche had decided to retire.

During this time we had rumours of food shortages in Holland, and that negotiations were going on between the Swedish Red Cross and the Boche to allow the Allies to push food into Holland, to prevent mass starvation.

At this time I was asked about further attacks in Holland, and it appeared there was too much to risk in attacking the Grebbe line because if the country was flooded with sea-water it would be useless for agriculture for a period of ten years. At that time things were going so badly in Germany that it was evident the Boche could not hold out much longer, so the decision was taken that we would stay on the line and patrol.

About the 27th of April the 1st Canadian Division picked up on the air a wireless message from the 25th Germany Army suggesting that they would like to have a parley to discuss putting food into Holland. This had previously been discussed on a high level, and Field Marshal Montgomery gave authority for the parley on the food question, and on the 29th of April a conference was held at Acheveld between the two lines.

The German delegation arrived outside of our line. We called a truce. The delegates were met, blindfolded, and brought in to the Conference. General Beadle Smith represented General Eisenhower, General T. W. DeGuig, General Montgomery.

There is one incident that may prove interesting and amusing to you. The head of the German delegation, a Dr. Schwabel, who had a portwine nose which must have cost him a couple of bottles of port a day to keep in bloom, arrived blind-folded. Across the table from him was a Russian representative, who was about 6 ft. 6 in. in height, and about as wide, with the ugliest face I have ever seen, and he sat on the other side of the Conference table. As the handkerchief was removed from Dr. Schwabel's eyes, he broke into a cold sweat and he was of very little use during the whole conference.

During this conference the Boche were very difficult to deal with, and the only satisfactory results we had was arranging a further conference, in which it was insisted that Seyss-Inquhart, who was the Reich Commisar, should come to the Conference himself.

At that time they had sent along a soldier who commanded the Paratroops, to arrange with me for the safe conduct of Seyss-Inquhart, one named Plocker, who was the stupidest soldier I ever dealt with. He refused to do anything without referring to the Reich Commisar.

After a great deal of negotiation the talks were carried on for another 48 hours. On the next day, the Monday, the Conference got under way. Seyss-Inquhart and his entourage were brought in, and it was really quite amusing. Prince Bernhardt had just acquired Seyss-Inquhart's car, which was a very nice Mercedes-Berg car, and still had the Reich Commisar's number on the front. We brought Seyss-Inquhart in a jeep and as he got out of the car he was faced with Prince Bernhardt driving his own car, which he apparently did not relish.

During this conference not much was accomplished. Seyss-Inquhart would not agree to anything. General Beadle Smith lost his patience, and pointed out that after all, we were going to shoot Seyss-Inquhart some day. He said, "That leaves me cold," to which General Beadle Smith responded: "We will see you are cold."

The only outcome of that conference was that the Germans agreed that they would not interfere with the food being taken by the Swedish Red Cross, and the Swedish Red Cross guaranteed that they would look after the distribution of food. So it was agreed that the 1st Canadian Corps would take the food inside the German lines, anh there dump it down. 240 vehicles were given to the Dutch Red Cross to cart it away. We had anticipated this, and that day we put in the first hundred tons of food.

We had considerable difficulty with the Germans because they did not want to continue the truce. And I was very anxious to continue the truce because I felt if I once got the German Army stopped fighting, the Commanders would not get it started again. The Germans would not agree to a complete truce. They wanted a corridor to bring the food in. I pointed out I was not able to carry on a battle between 4 and 6, and carry on peace the other time. I pointed out I would not carry on any fighting, but if the Germans created an incident, we would reply tenfold.

We had no difficulty with the Germans putting the food in. Our main difficulty was that the Dutch civilians, who were going to unload the vehicles, were in such a poor state of health and malnutrition, that after working for twenty minutes, they had to stop, and it was very difficult to get the vehicles unloaded.

After these initial food talks, we had several more talks to try and get a better arrangement with the Boche to put the food in.

It was after one of these talks that we persuaded the German Army to surrender.

We were discussing ways and means of not creating any incidents, and I had suggested it would be much easier if we had a telephone line between my quarters and those of General Blaskovitch, so that if he decided to surrender we could accomplish it much quicker. He agreed and a telephone line was laid.

During the conference on the 3rd of May,—it had been suggested by the Higher Command that perhaps General Blaskovitch did not understand what the real situation was—I produced from my pocket a map of Europe in which I had marked the small areas which were still in the hands of the Boche. I pointed out the ridiculousness of the 25th German Army in Holland and the few Huns hanging on in Denmark. They were rather impressed with the map, and I told them to take it away with them, and I suggested now was the time to surrender. Then General Reinkelt made a very impassioned speech, in which he said they were ready to blow the dikes, destroy the country and fight to the last man, rather than be made prisoners and sent to Russia as slave labor.

This annoyed me. I told them there was no intention of putting the German army into Russia; that we had already reserved a place for them north of the Elbe. That I considered if they flooded Holland they would be war criminals, and I pointed out if, after my warning, they blew the dikes and flooded Holland, I would see that there names were inscribed on the roll of war criminals, and they would be punished accordingly. This rather shook the Germans and they agreed to surrender, provided I would give them an undertaking that they would not be sent to Russia.

I pointed out that my instructions were "Unconditional Surrender".

That night we got instructions from Field Marshal Montgomery that he was having negotiations with the German High Command for surrender, and he sent down a copy of the terms of surrender. I got on the telephone and ordered General Reinkelt to come at 11 the next morning to Wageningen and receive the terms of surrender. I dictated the surrender terms to him, and sent him back to bring Blaskovitch and Seyss-Inquhart to sign. He was very truculent. However, after some argument he agreed, and on the 5th of May these terms were signed and the German Army came under our control.

That created a great problem. Blaskovitch had under his command about 125,000 soldiers. I had some 25,000 Canadian soldiers. The Germans had removed every Dutchman that was not a collaborator from office, so that every Burgomeister and engineer was a Nazi or had sworn allegiance to the Nazis. Therefore the problem I had to face was to take these 130,000 and disarm them, to continue to feed the Dutch population, and to make sure that the essential services did not break down during this period.

I was also particularly anxious that now that we had ended the war that not one Canadian soldier should lose his life.

Now the alternatives which I was faced with—the first one was to take the Boche as prisoners-of-war, and if we did take them as prisoners-of-war it meant we were tied by the Geneva Convention, which meant we would have to feed them with the rations according to the Protocol, and those scales were about ten times more than we could bring in for the Dutch population. So I decided to deal with them as capitulated troops: that is, have them stay with their own Commanders, force them to feed themselves, so that if there was any shortage of food, the Germans went short.

This plan seemed to work all right. I immediately placed all the Germans, soldiers, sailors, air men and civilians, under the command of General Blaskovitch. We dispensed with all civil authority. With every German Corps Commander I placed a Canadian Divsional Commander, and with every German Divisional Commander I placed a Canadian Brigadier, to see that my orders were carried. Blaskovitch issued those orders to his subordinates, and my subordinates were there to see it was carried out. In the main it worked out all right.

However, Blaskovitch pointed out he was not in a position to get orders through to all his Commanders within twenty-four hours, and I was afraid we might have an incident. For that reason I delayed the march into Holland by the Canadian troops for 24 hours. I have been severely criticized by some members of the press for the delay. However, if I had to do it again, I would take the same procedure; I would not risk one Canadian soldier's life to please all the press in the world.

Now the next problem. The Germans had laid 2,000,000 mines in Holland, and these mines were laid all along the Coastal belt and along the rivers. I decided that those who laid them must pick them up. So the German engineers, some 4,000 of them, were given the task of picking up their mines. It was unfortunate. We used to have 14 or 15 casualties a day. However, there were still plenty of Germans to do it.

That was the smallest part of the problem. We now had to feed the whole of Holland, get the Boche disarmed and march him from his positions in Holland up to the north, across the Zuider Zee, across Northern Holland into Germany, and I decided that they would all march—officers and men, and they would march with the minimum of transport, and only the sick and wounded would be transported. We had some difficulty with this, but we put the Boche on five horse-drawn vehicles, and anyone of you mixed up with the war would know that that is a minimum, to carry the food. And during this trip they were searched for loot, and as you all know, the German is the best looter in the world. They had systematically looted the whole of Holland. Hardly a thing was left with the German Army when we finished.

Now the Army had to set about to feed the population. The Army Service Corps turned into Grocers and Butchers, and into distribution centres. The Engineers got the waterworks and sewage plants going. The Catering Advisors had to run Soup Kitchens. The Medical Corps had to superintend and supervise hospitals. There were over 40,000 Dutch people who suffered from malnutrition.

Now by the first of July our task was completed. All the Boche were disarmed and marched across the Zuider Zee, except for the few engineers who were still required to pick up the mines. To give you some idea of the booty which we took from the Boche, and returned to the Dutch—

20,000 Radios; 30,000 Bicycles; 259 Barges and Boats; 400 tons of Food; 5,000 Cars and Motor Vehicles; 800 tons of Medical Supplies; 5,000 horses; 2 Million Cigars, and 60,000 Litres of Spirits.

In closing this little talk, I would just like to pay a tribute to the steadfastness and long-suffering of the

Dutch people. They had been suffering great privation for over a year, and yet there was not one untoward incident. Not one Canadian soldier was molested, not one civilian made a complaint about his food, and I sincerely hope that those good relations established in Holland between the Canadian troops and the Dutch people, may continue, and that we may foster between that hard-working long-suffering population, a bond of friendship for Canada: we have very much in common.

I would now like to pay a tribute to the contribution that the militia of Canada made. As you know, at the beginning of war we started out with 3,000 regular soldiers, and of the 3,000 regular soldiers—they were not all good ones. We had to expand until we had over 280,000 in action in Holland. And the contribution which has been made by the citizens of Canada who, during the difficult days of the war, learned the art of soldiering, proved themselves in action to be second to none, and this particular community here, the City of Toronto, has provided us with some of the greatest leaders in our Army. I might mention one or two.

There are the Regiments, like the 48th, who fought in Italy and Holland, and never once did they fail to take their objective. There was the other unit, the Irish Regiment, not with all the tradition of the 48th, but who fought with valor throughout the whole war.

Then you produced Division Commanders like Bruce Matthews, Brigadiers like Ian Johnston, Ian Cumberland and Eric Haldenby. All these men are business men who went into the Army.

Now in closing, I would like to say one word about the Returned Soldier. As a former commander of men, I want to say one or two things about what we can do for the returned soldier. The task has been well done. No soldier has been found wanting: they have all gone through hardship, suffering, and above everything, lived a generally unnatural life. They have been away from their relatives and friends for five years. I believe the schemes the Government has for rehabilitation are quite satisfactory, but that does not go far enough. What I want to appeal to you now for, is to be long-suffering, to be tolerant toward these men. You want to remember that it was Crerar, Simonds, myself and many others who, for the past five years, have been teaching these men to be tough, to be blood-thirsty, grafting, vicious, to kill in cold blood, to scheme and deceive the enemy, and you can not change that over night by an Order-in-Council. I hope the majority of these men will settle down; I am sure they will. But there will be break-ups in family relations, there will be untoward incidents, which none of us will condone. But I do appeal to you to be patient, to be tolerant and helpful, remembering it was these men who risked, and some of them lost, their lives in order that you and I can be here today.

"WESTERN NATIONS IN POSTWAR ASIA"

AN ADDRESS BY

SIR FREDERICK PUCKLE, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Tuesday, October 9, 1945

MR. THOMPSON: Gentlemen of the Empire Club of Canada, we welcome today as our guest of honour, a member of the British Embassy staff in Washington, in the person of Sir Frederick Puckle, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Sir Frederick, who served the Empire for some thirty years in India, as a government official, is today, as the result of his extensive knowledge, the chief adviser on Indian affairs to the British Ambassador in the United States of America.

In recognition of his outstanding services to India, he was, in 1938, made a Companion of the Order of the Star of India and in 1942, a Knight Commander of the Indian Empire.

Our interest in India and the Eastern World, was never greater than it is today and, we are highly favoured indeed in having such an authority as Sir Frederick address us on these countries.

It is with extreme pleasure that I present to you Sir Frederick Puckle, whose subject is "The Western Nations in Post War Asia".

SIR FREDERICK PUCKLE: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: Western Nations in Postwar Asia is really too wide a title for what I am going to talk about. For instance, Russia and China, the greatest Asiatic powers, lie outside my field. I am concerned only with the problems which lie in wait for Western powers in those countries of Asia, which they at present hold as dependencies. The general problem has been well summed up by Mr. Walter Lippmann in his stimulating book "United States Foreign

Policy". He writes: "The tutelage of the Western Empires in Asia is coming to its predestined end . . . But as the Western Empires recede and before the newly independent states are well established, the peoples of Asia will certainly pass through a long interregnum. It will be a miracle if effective civil government is established without civil and international strife". That is a gloomy text. I am not going to attempt this afternoon to prove Mr. Lippmann right or to prove him wrong. I am only going to offer you such reflections on this text as occur to one who for the best part of his life has had to look at Asia from close quarters. I am far from assuming that closer view means clearer vision—often it does not.

Twenty years ago, there was hardly a country in Asia, except Japan, from the Levant to Vladyvostok, which could have been truthfully said to be altogether free from Western tutelage, to use Mr. Lippmann's phrase. But we have been changing that either voluntarily or under the pressure of events. Still it is not, if one may judge from what one reads and hears, anything like generally realised how certainly Western imperialism is on the retreat. Let us look at the score. India is to be independent after the war, either within or without the British Commonwealth, as she pleases. It only awaits a reasonable degree of agreement among Indians about how they wish to take their freedom. Burma, after an inevitable period of reconstruction, is slated for self-government. Ceylon is moving steadily in the same direction. The East Indies are to be an equal partner in the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Indo-China is, if I understand recent pronouncements correctly, to be several new and self-governing departments of metropolitan France. The Philippines are to be independent next year, though they will remain within the Pacific security system of the United States. Syria and Lebanon have been recognised as independent states. The fact that Malaya is bound to lag behind does not really qualify the remarkable unanimity with which all the Western Empires seem to have accepted the fact that the old order is coming to an end.

The danger is not that the Western Empires will refuse independence to subject countries. The danger lies in the other direction that we of the West having salved our consciences and proclaimed Free India, Free Burma, Free Java, Free Philippines, will sink back and imagine that our job is done. Nothing could be a greater illusion; political independence by itself solves nothing. It leaves all the problems of peace and prosperity for Asia still to be settled. As that great political philosopher Mr. Dooley once remarked: "You can't make freedom into a stew, and you can't cut a pair of pants out of it". And stew and pants, or their Oriental equivalents, happen to be just what Asia is most in need of.

But though we are right to remind ourselves that political independence will not of itself solve all the problems of peace and prosperity in Asia,—for the danger spots will still be there—we ought to realise clearly that a new relationship between the West and the East is an essential contribution towards solving them. We cannot solve them if the old relations are to subsist. As a matter of fact, the people of the East have altered the relationship on their own. However completely the physical results of the Japanese attempt to dominate Asia may be obliterated, one psychological development,—the growth of nationalism in Asia—, has been greatly accelerated by the course of the war. During the nineteenth century, the Western Powers cultivated the doctrine of white supremacy with considerable success. This doctrine was severely shaken by Japan's victory over Russia forty years ago and the general course of events in China and India between 1900 and 1941 did nothing to strengthen it. It received its final blow from the series of shattering defeats which one Western nation after another suffered in 1942 at the hands of Japan. The exposure of what Mr. Sumner Welles calls "the fetish of white supremacy" and the growth of Asiatic nationalism, together have emphasised the issue of "Asia for the Asiatics", a slogan which has played a great part in Japan's war propaganda and has been the psychological basis for the conception of Japan's New Order, the Greater Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. Now fortunately for us, Asia for the Asiatics has not had much success as a rallying cry, partly because of doubts among Asiatic peoples about the disinterestedness of the Japanese and partly because there is, as yet, little awareness of such a thing as Asiatic solidarity. An inhabitant of China or Burma does not, naturally, think of himself as an Asiatic; he thinks of himself as a Chinese or a Burmese. It is only when faced by Western arrogance or aggression that the Asiatic thinks of Asia as something opposed to the West. Asia for the Asiatics is therefore today a negative, and not a positive, concept; it is defensive, not aggressive. If it ever becomes aggressive, we shall only have ourselves to blame. But in order to prevent its becoming aggressive, we have to alter our ideas about the relationship between the West and the East, and I believe this change is taking place.

Mr. Sumner Welles in his book "The Time For Decision" has quoted a statement of American policy in the East: "a policy which contained, as its fundamental premise, the maintenance of peace in the Pacific, the renunciation by all of the Powers interested in the Pacific of force and of conquest as their national policy; the recognition of the rights of independent and autonomous peoples of the Pacific to independence and integrity; and equal opportunity and fair treatment for all, and exclusive preference or privilege for none." That is a statement of policy which I suppose all the Western Powers would endorse. I have only one comment to make. It assumes that the Western Powers have rights and consequently responsibilities. We shall not impress the peoples we have governed either by foregoing our just rights or by shirking our responsibilities.

It would seem therefore that there are two principles of practice which should govern our dealings with the East. They are these:

(1) The greatest danger to peace is that there may

grow up an antagonism of the East to the West. Practices and policies which tend to foster this feeling of "Asia for the Asiatics" must go. This means that we must do without the fetish of white supremacy and disentangle ourselves from political commitments which perpetuate Western domination, as soon as we honourably can.

(2) Mutual respect must be the basis of any lasting good relationship between East and West. We shall win no respect if we lack the will and the means either to maintain our rights when they are based on justice or to discharge responsibilities which we cannot honourably repudiate.

Let us first consider what western interests in Asia will be when we have relieved ourselves of our direct interest in and responsibility for internal good government. They will fall into three categories: trade, communications and strategic security.

The U. S. and Great Britain look at foreign trade from somewhat different angles. For them it is a means of maintaining full employment and so preserving a standard of living which is the highest in the world. For us, these considerations, though important, are secondary. The dominant consideration for us is that we must import in order to live at all, and we cannot import unless we can pay for our imports by exports. Trade, therefore, is for us a matter of life and death. At present we are both paying lip-service to the expansionist theory of trade, and on the assumption that our practice will correspond with our professions our major interest in Asia is that it should be an expanding market open to all comers. As long as we practise expansionism as well as preach it, there seems no reason why Britain and America should prove that Mr. Lippmann's fear of international strife in Asia is well founded. If, however, we are going to go back to the old days of protected markets, prohibitive tariffs, restrictive quotas and all the rest of the armoury of trade war, then the outlook is not so hopeful. But, be that as it may, it is beyond doubt in the interest of us both—and in this we can confidently include the other

Western Empires, Holland and France—that Asia should be economically prosperous, and that presupposes effective civil government.

Safe, quick and free communications, by land, sea and air, are linked on the one side with trade, and on the other with strategic security. Further, they alone can give nations that knowledge of each other which is itself the best insurance against war. The U. S. and the British Commonwealth are the world's greatest carriers of goods, passengers and news, and our interests in Asia are obvious. What we shall want to find there is cooperative partnership and here again effective civil government is our first interest.

When we come to strategic security, peace in fact, we come to a sphere where it is a world-interest that Asia should play her part. What that part will be will depend firstly, once again, on how effective the new civil governments are and, secondly, on what associations they elect to form with the great powers of the West. It is here that the withdrawal of the West will be least complete. It is known that the U. S. will wish to retain bases in the Philippines. As Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies are to be integral parts of the French Republic and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, we can assume that in both cases local security will be integrated with the defence arrangements of the metropolitan country. A condition of India's independence seems to be the negotiation of a treaty with Great Britain, "covering (to quote the Cripps Declaration of 1942) all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands". That phrase must, I think, be taken to include the coordination of India's arrangements for defence with the general defence scheme of the British Commonwealth. Burma and Ceylon, we can be pretty certain, will wish to secure the advantage of partnership in the Commonwealth's mutual defence system. Self-government for Malaya, for a number of reasons, is a distant goal and Singapore is likely to remain a British base for as long as one can foresee. The upshot is that the United States, the British Commonwealth, France and the Netherlands will retain not only an interest in the security of Asia but actual defence establishments in many countries for which they, whether individually or as partners in some regional security scheme or as members of an organization for world security, will be jointly or severally responsible, in co-operation with the governments of the countries in which these establishments are situated. Once again we get back to our interest in effective civil government. No power responsible for the safety of a base, whether that responsibility is to its own people or to a world security council, could look on with equanimity at unstable government and anarchic internal conditions in the hinterland of that base.

Let me gather up the threads. Trade, communications and security are the essential Western interests in Asia; intrinsically these do not run counter to the interests of the peoples of Asia themselves; if we can substitute for the old fetish of white supremacy a new relationship of partnership, based on mutual respect, forbearance and patience, we shall have removed the most serious obstacle to cooperation between the East and the West; the greatest danger is that effective civil government may fail to establish itself when imperial control is withdrawn; we cannot escape some responsibility for seeing that the danger is avoided.

If we accept this view of the position and its implications and order our policy and actions accordingly, then it should not need any miracle to avoid international strife, either between ourselves or between us and Eastern nations. If still a miracle is needed, then it must be because of something inherent in the internal situation which is likely to prevent peaceful solutions of internal problems. There are undoubtedly situations in various parts of Asia, sometimes inherent in local conditions, sometimes arising out of the impact of the West on the East, which might be described as untidy and which are potentially at any rate explosive. It is not generally at all obvious how these situations will work themselves out.

We can do little more than put up danger signs, as a warning that careful driving is needed.

Between the shores of the Mediterranean, where Asia begins, and the East Indies, there are, I suppose, about 200 million Muslims. Islam takes no account of political boundaries. A stone flung into the pool at Beyrout sends a wave washing up against the quays in Surabaya; an explosion in Palestine shakes the mosques in Delhi. With this in mind we must put a large danger sign on any situation in Moslem lands which may result in a clash between West and East, which can be represented as Christian versus Moslem. There are more than enough of these situations at this moment. First there is Syria and Lebanon, where young nationalism is coming up against a France, more than usually sensitive over questions of prestige and her position as a great power. Secondly, there is Palestine. The Muslim world is watching Palestine as a cat watches a mouse. It is not a matter of being pro-Arab but a plain statement of fact, that Palestine is a Holy Land for Moslems, almost as much as it is for Jews or Christians. The coercion of Arabs by any Christian power for the benefit of Jews will have repercussions in Asia which may be very unpleasant. The prospect is little brighter if Western powers were to decide to wash their hands of Jew and Arab alike and leave them to settle the matter themselves. The resultant commotion would convulse the Middle East and India. Thirdly, there is the question of the future control of the Suez Canal, one of the great international highways. This is not yet emergent, but with it is wrapped up the delicate problems of Britain's position in Egypt. Lastly there is oil, about which there is little one can say except that it is a highly combustible substance, and with Britain, the U. S., Russia wanting to use it and Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia owning it, a Christian-Moslem colour is assured for any trouble which may arise. The formation of an Arab League or confederacy deserved to attract more notice than it did. It is not only a sign—a welcome sign—of increasing political maturity; it is also a plain warning to trespassers.

The next danger spot is India. Here the danger is not, as you might suppose, of a rising of Indians to throw out the British; that risk has been removed by Britain's recognition of India's right to independence, steps to give effect to which are being taken now that the war is over. Indian nationalism is not an international danger as yet; it is, on the other hand, the hope of those who look for the orderly emergence of a united India from a state of dependency to a position of equality with the other nations of Asia and of the world. The danger lies in the opposite direction, that the forces of separatism in India may be too strong for the young plant of nationalism. If, when the unifying factor of British domination is withdrawn, India is going to fly apart into a number of relatively weak and mutually antagonistic states, then a valuable force for peace in Asia is broken. India, as the Balkans of the East, would be, in my opinion, a perpetual threat to stability and a perpetual temptation to those who might conceive it to be in their interests to fish in troubled waters.

We move on to South-East Asia, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies. One might suppose there was not much danger here provided we meet the aspirations for self-government of the peoples of these dependencies in a reasonable spirit. There is a peculiar source of danger here, however. In several of these countries there are considerable immigrant foreign minorities. These minorities are usually Chinese or Indian and their characteristic is that they have a stronger loyalty to the country of their origin than they have to the country in which they live. Take Malaya for example. Here the immigrant Chinese and Indians outnumber the native Malayans. In a Malaya, self-governing on democratic lines, the foreigners would outvote the natives, and self-government for Malaya would not be self-government for the Malayans. We should exchange control by the British for control by Chinese and Indians. Quite naturally the governments of China and India are tempted to support the cause of their own nationals while the British government is bound to support the Malayans for whose welfare it considers responsible. The very proximity of the countries of South East Asia to China and India makes them a breeding-place for international tension. It is therefore with relief and admiration that the world has applauded the way in which similar problems on the other side of China have been solved by the recent Russo-Chinese treaty and agreements. The outstanding merit of these agreements is that they are based on reality and mutual interests instead of on abstract theory. It is this fact that makes them the outstanding contribution to peace which they undoubtedly are and the happiest augury for the future.

Will you excuse one who has spent the best part of his life in India for finishing with a few words about it? India's present position of dependence and the dust raised by the political wrangles between Indians and British and Indians and Indians tend to obscure the importance of India in the future of Asia. India is on the threshold of complete self-government, she already functions as a Dominion for practical purposes. I am assuming that she will remain integrated to act as a unity in international affairs.

By reason of her military and industrial potentialities, and of the quality of her administrators, scientists and businessmen, India can play an important role in Asia. If she can match her great opportunity with greatness of purpose and devise political institutions which will allow her natural endowments full scope, she may even aspire to a leading role, for as far as the material equipment of modern state goes, a hundred years of internal peace have put her far ahead of other Asiatic countries. What is not so often realized is her importance in the future relations between the West and the East. Though geographically India is in the heart of Asia, it is not fantastic to describe her as the most eastern outpost of the West. India faces west and the land-approaches from the East are practically blocked. For thousands of years, all the influences which have combined to produce the civilization of India have come from the West. India has influenced the Far East, but the Far East has never influenced her. Modern Indian culture is a synthesis of Hindu, Islamic and purely Western influences and the tendency is for the strength of Western influence to increase. She stands geographically and culturally between the Moslem civilization of the Middle and Near East and the civilization of the Chinese in the Far East. Neither of these systems are particularly sympathetic towards Western ways of thought and life; Islam tends to fear the West, China to despise it. India seems marked out to be the interpreter of the West to Asia and of Asia to the West.

Strategically, India is of the greatest importance to the West. First, she blocks the door (as she has done since December, 1941) to the Western advance of an aggressor from the Far East. Secondly, she dominates the Indian Ocean, which is the annexe to the Pacific and through which pass the sea routes to the Far East from Europe, Africa, Western Asia and Australia; and she lies across the main air routes to the Far East, Indonesia and Australia.

Both culturally and strategically, therefore, India is the natural link between the West and Asia. As a dependency of the British Empire, which is both a Western and an Eastern power, she has been for many years playing this role. She would, as a Dominion of the British Commonwealth, be in a position to play the role more effectively. Whether India remains within the Commonwealth will be for Indians to choose. I can think of no one thing more likely to promote both cooperation in our joint dealing with the East and also an understanding attitude towards the East than that India should be a full partner in the work, as she would be as a free and equal member of the British Commonwealth. As such she would, I believe, wield more influence both in the East and in the West than if she stood alone, for she would be the final proof that East and West can meet.

I have stated some of the problems of the process of readjustment between the East and the West in Asia. I do not pretend to know the solutions. If we are to find the right ones, very great patience will be called. To end up with I offer you a platitude and a fact. The platitude is this, in the modern world peace and prosperity are indivisible. You cannot be prosperous with a slum at your back door or safe with a riot going on round the corner. The fact is this, quite half the human race live in Asia. Those two things taken together give the measure of the importance of Asia to the rest of us.

"THE JAPANESE CEYLON ATTACK AND AFTERWARDS"

An Address By

WING COMMANDER LEONARD BIRCHALL, D.F.C.

Thursday, October 18, 1945

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

MR. THOMPSON: Gentlemen, it is indeed fitting that this club should be addressed today by one who has played such an important part in the conservation of the Empire.

We are all very proud of our Empire and what it stands for, comprising as it does nearly one-fourth of the land surface of the Globe on which the sun never sets.

On the opposite side of the world from Canada, there is a small but important part of this Empire, the Island of Ceylon, which owing to the resourcefulness of our guest of honour, remains in British hands. As a result of the actions of himself and his squadron, he is known today throughout the Empire as the "Saviour of Ceylon".

Our speaker, who joined the R.C.A.F. in 1937, received his commission in July of that year. In the early part of the war, the squadron he was attached to operated from the Shetland Islands. In 1942, he was transferred to the Pacific War Theatre and whilst in charge of the 413th Squadron, he and his men were responsible for the saving of Ceylon from the Japanese.

During the air operations, he was shot down over the ocean and captured by the Japanese and has been a prisoner in the Tokyo area for the past four years.

Gentlemen, it gives me the greatest of pleasure to introduce to you, Wing Commander Leonard Birchall, D.F.C., who has chosen as the title of his address—"The Japanese Ceylon Attack And Afterwards".

WING COMMANDER LEONARD BIRCHALL: Mr. Chairman, Members of The Empire Club: I would like to thank you very much indeed for this opportunity to come down here to try to give you some idea of the few experiences which I have had and, personally, I would like to tell you what you are in for. This is my first attempt at public speaking, so you are going to have to put up with that.

The other point: I have just returned from Ottawa and I have been informed there by the authorities that all mention of particular war atrocities and war crimes that were committed in Japan will have to remain in the background for the time being. The reason for this is that the war criminals in Japan have not been brought to trial as yet, and it would be detrimental to the Allies and their endeavours to bring them to justice for what they have done if we started mentioning them in particular at this particular time.

So with that in mind I would like to give you some idea of just what actually did happen.

I was transferred to the 413th Squadron which was then based up in Shetland, in December of 1941. We operated all that winter up off Norway, doing patrols and in March of 1942 we were then transferred to the Pacific theatre to operate out of Ceylon. We flew machines out. I was in the second machine to arrive. We went out by Gibraltar, flew to Cairo, to Abukir, near Alexandria, where we had a major overhaul. The other machine with me at that time was delayed at that point to have some repairs and I carried on and went down to Ceylon. Our base at that time was on a little lake, known as Kogona. This lake is in the southwestern corner of Ceylon, near a town named Galle. The lake is very small and not very good for operations, but it was the only one available. We were making the best we could out of poor supplies and everything else that went with it.

We arrived just around noon and I was taken into the operations room where we were briefed, interrogated, and the crew were sent out to the rest house. The next day we went back to the aircraft and started to unload all our supplies. It was at this time I was informed that they suspected the Japanese might be somewhere in the vicinity of Ceylon. If you recall, at that time the Japanese fleet had been in close cooperation with land forces operating around Burma. The fleet had left that particular theatre and they suspected that on the way going back they might stop off and take a shot at Ceylon. Just what their intentions were, I don't know. They were very anxious to continue the patrols.

This machine of mine was second in, and other machines at that particular time out on patrol came back that night. They asked if I would take off first thing in the morning before dawn. We detailed the crew and got ready. The following morning, before dawn, we took off and proceeded on what is known as a crow-over patrol, 300 to 400 miles from Ceylon. It was a wonderful day, nice and clear. There wasn't a cloud in the sky. Everything was going along merrily. We had just finished a little snack and were getting ready to go home—this was four o'clock in the afternoon—when somewhere out in the horizon we suddenly saw some specks which appeared as if they were a convoy. We had had no notification of convoys in that area, so we immediately went in that direction to investigate. As we got in the area where the convoy could be identified we ran into the outer air screen of the Japanese fleet. As they attacked us we identified the ships and immediately started out on our first signing point. This had to constitute the position, course and speed, the actual composition of the forces, and also we gave our position.

The normal procedure was that we repeat this three times. We got through twice, and half way through the third time, when an explosive shell came in and knocked the wireless set out and also laid the wireless operator hors de combat at that time. In the meantime, about forty Zeroes were buzzing around us. The first casualty was our port gunner who had his leg practically knocked off at that time. It was necessary to put him inside the aircraft on the crew bunks. The engineer then got in that position and the fight was on. We got as low as we could to stop the attack from underneath us, but they started coming from the top and the next thing we knew they had punctured the gas tank and the gasoline was on fire and flowing down inside the aircraft. We managed to get that out. At the same time we were blazing away with all we had in the vicinity of the attackers and the machine started to break up.

When we were in that particular situation the fire broke out and this time we eventually went down and landed on the water. The machine sank instantly. We got everybody out that we could. The only person we couldn't get out was the poor lad on the bunk. He went down with the machine. The remainder of us were left swimming as hard as we could away from the burning gasoline. While we were getting away we tried to form in a group. At that particular time we noticed the Japanese aircraft starting to come after us. We were by ourselves and we didn't think anything was going to happen. The next minute they opened with guns and for the next twenty minutes we had to keep repeatedly diving under the water in order to evade the Japanese. When we had finished two more lads were gone and there was only six left.

We noticed a Japanese destroyer coming our way. It came up quite close, dropped a life boat and picked us up. Three of the lads were in pretty bad shape. The other three, the navigator, the second pilot and myself, got off quite lightly. They took us on board the Japanese destroyer, put us on the forward deck, and the questioning started. They were very anxious to find out if we had gotten away a wireless message, also what we knew about Colombo. We told them we knew nothing about Colombo, we had newly arrived. We kept the name of the base as quiet as we could. We knew they were putting in facilities there that we didn't want them to know about. We told them we had just arrived in Colombo and had taken off immediately. Regarding the wireless, we told them we had not got one out. Everything went well until Colombo came back and asked us to repeat our message. They then found out we were lying to them and they threw us all in a small hole at the forward end of the destroyer. We did what we could for the three lads who were shot up, but we couldn't get any medical aid for them. We stayed there for three days. The three that were not too badly off were taking turns at lying stretched out on the floor, and the other two would have to take turns at leaning up against the bunkhead.

After three days of this they moved us to the aircraft carrier, acting as the flag ship of that particular fleet. The Atogi was later sunk by the Americans at the Battle of Midway. They took us to that ship and there they treated the sick lads pretty well. They put them in small cots and gave what medical aid they had. The three of us were allowed to lie on a piece of canvas. Once again we were in one of the forward holes and things went along not too badly until the questioning started again. At that time we were being questioned every night. We were being taken up singly into the questioning room, and segregated from the others until they were finished with you, and then they bring you back down again.

They were very anxious about our operational experience. We told them we didn't have any. Then they were anxious about how we had gotten out there and in order to protect what we thought at that time was pretty vital, we told them some story of a fictitious convoy having left Montreal the 1st of January, which was our only mistake, and that we had come on the convoy all the way through to Bombay. They tried to break it down. They worked us over pretty well. However, we managed to stick to the story and when we finally did get to Japan they had it all written up and they said, "Well, it was a pretty good story anyway."

Then they took us to a place called Nukoska, which is a naval base just beside Yokohama. From there the three lads who were wounded were taken to the naval hospital. The other three were taken to the Japanese Naval Interrogation camp, located about ten miles outside Yokohama. There they were given special treatment for questioning. We were advised at this time that we were not prisoners of war, that we were still on the firing line, and if they found it necessary we would be down as "killed in action".

We were not allowed to speak. We had to give all our requests in Japanese. They taught us Japanese. At least there was one interpreter in the American Navy, captured at the same time and he gave us Japanese lessons. We were confined, two people to a room. The rooms were approximately six feet by eight feet, with rice straw mats on the floor. There you were—you weren't allowed to talk. You had two cigarettes a day, one after breakfast, one at night. The food was pretty scarce. We were on half rice and half barley and we were allowed to have one bath a week. We got one cubic inch of soap a week to do all our laundry and our own body cleansing, so we had to really stretch it along to make it last. However, we looked after that pretty well too. We were only allowed to wash once a day so that helped out.

The interrogators that we had at that time would come from Tokio, and we nicknamed them "The Quizz Kids". They would come in and planned to see certain prisoners who were then taken to the questioning room and given the grilling over which the Japanese thought proper. After the questioning they would get to work and start to fix up all our stories and readjust. The normal procedure was if the answers were not satisfactory there was physical violence, and also solitary confinement and shortage of rations. There wasn't much difference between the solitary confinement and the normal confinement, except that you had your door locked all night long, where the other people didn't. This lasted approximately five months.

I might say something about the other prisoners. There were about sixty in that camp, made up of survivors from the Java Sea Battle, some from the "Huston", some from the "Exeter". We had the ten lads that had been in Kiska and were captured there by the Japanese.

We had people from Guam, some from Wake Island and some from Dutch Harbor, plus ourselves from the Indian Ocean. So we had a fairly representative group of both English, Americans and Canadians.

We were then moved out. We proceeded on the 15th of September, 1942 to be taken to Yokohama, nine of us. The camp we were taken to was just opening that day and was located in the basement of a baseball stadium in the center of Yokohama. We had one large room in the particular building in which there were housed at that time 225. There were nine of us and 216 British troops from Hong Kong, part of the first detachment brought up to Japan by the Japanese. The first boat load of the prisoners from Hong Kong started out the camps in the Tokio area.

We started on pretty small rations. The lads came up in quite bad shape. They had suffered quite a lot in Hong Kong and we suffered from most of the malnutrition diseases—beri beri, scurvy and pellegra, and also a lot of skin diseases at that time. We tried to do the best we could. We organized the camp as rapidly as we could. We had some very good officers. I at that time was Senior in the camp and it fell to my lot to try to do the best we could for the chaps there. Medicines were absolutely nil to start. Eventually they started giving us a monthly supply which would last not many days. In order to get medicine we would buy what we could under the wire, through the black market, and things like that, and we pooled our money into a fund called "Medical and Amenities Fund."

The lads in the camp who were working got 10 sen for one day's work. The N. C. O.'s got 15 sen, and the Warrant Officers got 25 sen. If you worked a day you got 10 sen, if you didn't work, you got nothing. Hence, the sick lads had no money and we had to take care of them.

The first winter in camp was one of the worst winters in Japan. I am speaking only for the area I know, which was the Tokio area. At that time we didn't have very much Red Cross stuff—it hadn't started to come through as yet. It was nip and tuck all the way. The lads suffered a lot from beri beri, and it was very demoralizing.

One of the worst things we had to contend with was a symptom known as painful feet. This was due to dry beri beri, at least that is what doctors told me. In this particular instance, the lads' feet became very hot and painful, and it was impossible to get any sleep. During that winter the lads would walk up and down on the cold concrete floor with their bare feet, trying to cool them enough to get some sleep or ease them enough to get some rest.

Also another thing happened at that particular time. Due to lack of vitamins their eyes started to go and some of the chaps went practically blind.

It was now coming in toward Christmas and toward November the first batch of Americans arrived from the Philippine Islands. We received 75 of these. One of the prisoners was a doctor and he did a marvellous job for us in our camp. That brought our total strength to 300.

We didn't have much in the way of clothing. Their shoes were in pretty bad shape and those working outside were on jobs which necessitated leaving camp at 5.00 or 5.30 in the morning and returning at 5.00 at night. Typical work we were doing was stevedoring, working on railway sidings, doing coollie labour, and working in one plant which was an oil plant where they made all kinds of vegetable oil, peanut oil and cocoanut oil, castor oil, and so on. Also that particular job was a Godsend to us, for through that plant we got our castor oil for medicinal purposes, and oils for ointment for the skin diseases. It was against all regulations to bring anything back and some of the methods that were used were nothing short of being ingenious. We managed to get some of the stuff in and also the peanuts that they managed to get back was one of the things that gave us our supply of protein at that time and helped a great deal.

This particular Christmas of 1942 was one of the most impressive I have ever seen. We managed to buy a little Christmas tree and a few decorations, and with that we tried to make life as happy as we could. We tried to make preparations for a decent dinner by cutting down our rations for about a week beforehand so at least we would have a good feed for Christmas. Everything was going along well and on Christmas Eve the first Red Cross stuff arrived. This was the British Red Cross which came in from East Africa, I believe—Portuguese East Africa. Each man was given a parcel of his own with the usual Red Cross supplies—bully beef, butter, bacon and biscuits and things like that. Also, one of the most prized possessions was a cake of soap. We had the parcels for Christmas Eve. Also we managed to get a couple of guitars, a ukelele, and an accordion and one of the lads had a clarionet.

On Christmas Day we had a small church celebration. We had no padre with us, but we tried to do the best we could. At least we thought it was a pretty good success.

Then the Red Cross supplies started to trickle through and we got some bulk supplies from East Africa. We got some dried fruit which was very valuable for its Vitamin C, and we also managed to get some bully beef. We had some cocoa and some sugar which we found it necessary to steal in order to have. Sugar was very scarce in that country. Sugar, soap and oil were the pass words and have since been termed the S.O.S. of Japan. You could get anything you wanted for a piece of soap. Naturally, at the oil factory the boys soon found out how to make soap, and they managed to get that out and redistribute it to the other jobs where the lads were working, stevedoring, and so on, and through that they were able to buy medicines from the civilians, and other such things as we needed.

As I have said, cigarettes were very scarce, and that was also a problem. If we could get the lads a cigarette now and then they were quite happy.

The lads went to making recipe books while in camp. I don't think there was a lad who went through without making a recipe book, which he promptly threw away when we went to Manilla.

As soon as the food started to go down so did the morale. It was necessary to start rumours and so on to keep the boys going.

Everything was going along well and suddenly the Officers were ordered out and we had to go out and work on the jobs with them. It was actually a boon at the time. It brought us in a lot closer contact with the lads and the trust they had in us we tried to live up to. Working with them like that we got to really know them. We got to know what was going on the outside and we could see and understand their little problems which they would bring to us.

That camp in 1943 was one of the best I have ever been in. At the conclusion of the winter of 1943 we had our last death. Out of the 300 we lost seven over that one winter, and we never lost another the rest of the time we were in the place which was about another year. It was all due to the work of the lads themselves. We made them as health conscious as we possibly could. We had no other instruments or anything else but they certainly put on a good show of putting up with the treatment we had to give them.

At that particular time the headquarters camp, located at Tonagawa was moved to a small piece of reclaimed land in Tokio Harbour and the former camp, Tonagawa, was then converted into a hospital for prisoners of war. They called it a hospital but it was one of the worst camps in the area. Here again the authorities are keeping me from telling very much about that. Needless to say it was only as a last resort we ever sent anyone there. When they were absolutely out of hand and we could do nothing we sent the boys to that hospital.

I didn't get along very well with the Japanese. I didn't think the same way. They couldn't understand my viewpoint and I certainly didn't understand theirs.

We then got moved from that point in 1944. It was

March 20th of 1944 that I was sent to another camp where we did repairing on torpedo ships that came in and doing work for the navy and anybody else. The camp was situated three miles away from the job and the boys had to walk every morning and the three miles back at night. Food was getting pretty scarce in Japan at that time and the weight charts started to show quite a decline. We started to raise a rumpus. Things came to a head one day when it was necessary to order the lads not to go to work. We stood fast until finally we got what we wanted. The net result of that was the doctor and I were removed for discipline. We were sent to a special camp where we were going to be imbued with the spirit of and talk Japanese philosophy. We heard about it, but we weren't very much impressed at the time. We received our special treatment. We came under the arm of a servant that was there whose special job it was to look after no one but the Officers. There we had to do all the menial tasks in the camp. My first job was in charge of camp sweeping. Every morning we would parade with brooms and sweep up the area. They figured by little detail we were the highest paid sanitation outfit in the world. We had two American Commanders, a Major in the British Army, and myself, at that time a Squadron Leader. We figured we were going pretty well, but the Japanese didn't seem to think that was such an honour.

We worked in the camp starting in 1944 and our big thrill came in November of 1944, when the first B29 came over and gave a look around and then came on home. At least we had seen one.

Another particular point about this camp is the fact it was built on sand. It was all reclaimed ground, as I said, and the sand seemed to be a beautiful place for the breeding of fleas. Fleas were quite a nuisance in the camp, so we applied to the Japanese for a little insecticide. The Japanese took it up and gave us some powder which the fleas enjoyed very much. We went back and they had a very brilliant idea. We had five barracks in the camp and we had four dogs. These dogs were paraded every day in a barrack and tied to the leg of the table. At noon the prisoner medical orderlies had to take the dogs outside, brush them off, give them a good shake and bring them back in again. At night the same procedure went on. They then told us we had a sure cure for fleas. However, we didn't agree with him there either.

The main raids were starting the beginning of 1945, and as I say we were in the heart of the Tokio area, in the Bay, and it seemed to us they would come right overhead and over our camp. We had some air raid shelters but they were built Japanese style and we couldn't go into them. We preferred to stay on the ground where we could get a good running start in case anything started coming our way. We had a miraculous escape in that camp. In fact you could not convince any of the prisoners that the pilots coming over did not know where we were. Everything around the camp was flat. After the first raid for three days and nights the fires were quite distinct—you could read a newspaper on the parade ground, although we read in the papers that the Japanese now had the fires all under control.

The results of those raids we saw quite vividly because of the fact the work groups were still going out to their various jobs. Also, our water supply went off after the first raid for three days and the electrical supply was off for practically a week. Since the Japanese cooking requires a great amount of water—cooking rice and soups—we had to go into Tokio to a small spring close by and draw water from a well there and bring it back. The sights we saw down the streets were something that are very hard to even think about. They were in a terrible shape.

As you know, the Japanese don't go in very much for leather shoes. They wear little grass sandals and things like that. The fire started on the outskirts and worked in from there and the Japanese would run in to the center and it was terrible to see them sitting around on the street, trying to cook little bits of rice they had and doing the best they could.

We were scared when we went out because we thought the Japanese might come after us. We were strutting out with our best uniforms that we always wore when we went into town, and the contrast was so amazing that we were darned glad to get back with our water detail.

Following the first of the big raids they put us on demolition work. They started building fire lanes through the city, not so much to control fire but to give people in there a chance to get out. They lost a lot of people in houses jammed so closely together. The fire bombs they were using at that time were very effective. I believe they were jellied gasoline. The heat was terrific. The people would be caught among all the little houses and you just cannot get through them unless you know the ways and byways. They started pulling down whole sections of the city wholesale to leave some way for people to get out.

We nicely got started on that and were working on salvaging when the B-29 came over and finished it for us. They came through and worked toward Yokohama. The biggest raid on May 29th came on over and completely knocked out Yokohama. I have since met some of the lads originally in Yokohama who were there at that time. The stories they had to tell of various situations and how they had to march through the city while it was burning were amazing. If it hadn't been for their own self-control they never would have made it.

All through the raids we were very fortunate in the Tokio area. We lost very few. I can only recall one lad who didn't get through it and that was not his fault. The others all stuck together and managed to get through.

When you drove through the countryside the prisoners of war camps stood up like a sore thumb. Why that was we were never able to find out. Since then I have talked to pilots of the B-29s and they said they didn't know where the camps were. The Japanese believed that they did. When a raid started there were hundreds of people outside our fences there because they thought they were safe.

As the fires progressed through there, burning out the areas, they then started to pull in the camps because there was no place for the boys to work. All the railway stations were all knocked out. The railway traffic was practically at a standstill. The rice supply in Tokio had been knocked out. Food was getting very scarce. It was now requiring two or three days search in the countryside to get even a half a truck load of vegetables and we had five hundred prisoners in camp. A half a truck load would have to do a week.

They then decided to start moving the lads to a new area up north, called the Sendai area. We then went up into the mining camps. I was sent out of Tokio in charge of 233 lads. We went up to a place called Seoul, half way across the island, due west of Tokio, on an elevation of 4,500 feet and we were working there in an open pit mine. The conditions there were worse than I had ever struck in any of the camps. We had absolutely nothing. They weren't prepared for us and food was very scarce. The tie-ups on the railways practically stopped all movement of food. The only supply of water was a little mountain stream, drainage for the rice paddies coming in near the vicinity, and that was the only supply for washing, doing laundry and also cooking.

Our kitchen consisted of three rice boilers stuck up on some rocks. That was all. We had no roof. The poor lads in the kitchen. (I had 25 Canadians in that camp and all the kitchen staff were Canadians) they worked through some of the hardest conditions you can imagine. Day and night they worked with the rain coming down and they did a darned good job. Sanitation was practically nil. We were eating wild vegetables, anything we could find. We lost two Dutch laddies up there because they ate some poisonous vegetable. We had nothing in the way of medicines, and no way of getting them. There were no medical supplies anywhere and although we tried to do the best we could, it was a hopeless situation.

They were marching up a hill, a rise of about another three or four hundred feet, and it would take probably a half hour climb to get to work, at which point we would arrive and go to work and everybody else would sit down to rest. Weight was starting to go off and the camp was getting in a pretty bad state when all at once through the underground we heard of Hiroshima.

Since coming back practically everyone I have talked to has asked what was the effect of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima. We were nowhere near the district. The Japanese district papers passed it off as something just a little different. But the news of it went through the underground like wildfire. We never saw anybody so scared in our lives.

The next thing we heard was that the war was over. The official notice came from Tokio by runner on the 19th and we put up big signs to inform the aircraft that would be coming over. We dubbed the aircraft "The Biscuit Bombers." On the 30th of August the first planes arrived. That was our biggest day. At the end of the war we didn't know quite where we stood. We knew the civilians were alarmed. We knew we would probably have to beat our own way out and we didn't know whether we would make it or not. We were very undecided what to do or what was going to happen to us. When the first plane came over we knew we were in. The first thing they dropped was an American flag. Within five minutes we had a flag pole up and the flag was flying. They dropped food and notes, telling us to keep our chins up, that the Marines were coming, and everything like that. They were some of the best things that ever happened to us. That was the first bit of decent food we had in that camp. That gave a little fortitude and we managed to push our way around and buy a cow. It cost us 2,300 yen. That was a great day. We talked of that cow for days. We went around collecting, ten yen from this person, and ten from that. Everybody was coming in and asking how the money was coming in. We sent it out and we awaited the arrival of the bossy. Bossy came up the road. She was jet black and beautiful. We all cheered and formed a guard of honour and brought her in. We stood around and petted her. Most of us missed lunch going out to admire her. All the experts were on the job, telling us approximately how much meat we would get out of her.

They found some grass and prepared a nice room where the slaughter was going to take place. We took the cow into the room and two men were detailed for the slaughter. They got in where Bossy was and we all gathered around, about ten deep.

Just at the critical moment when the man was going to swing, someone said, "Give me the axe, I will show you". He swung and one of the horns went off. The first indication of trouble I heard was a loud thumping of hoofs—the bossy had cleared the place by ten feet, all feet going. She went out of the gate and we chased her three miles. Finally, we got a hold of her and brought her back and this time there was no mistake.

The next day we had our first real steak since we had been prisoners. We went into the countryside. We took rice with us and swapped it off for vegetables and we had a real meal. It was so good that we finished that cow off in two days.

The next thing we tried to do was get another one but there were no more cows available. Then we had to resort to a horse. This cost us 1900 yen, but we didn't enjoy that quite so much. However, it was meat and with the food we were getting from the aircraft that paid another visit to us on the 31st, we were doing alright. You could practically see the lads putting on weight.

The clouds came down right after that and we could hear the aircraft going over top, but they just couldn't get down to us. On the 5th they came in again and that was the best day they could have arrived because we left for camp that night. We came down on the train, leaving about midnight, and arriving at Yokohama about ten o'clock in the morning.

I would like to recount one experience which might be of interest on that particular trip coming back. At about four o'clock in the morning when coming down we stopped at a small station and while we were waiting for some unknown reason, we suddenly saw a Japanese on the platform in pretty bad shape. The interpreter was a lad, born and brought up in Hawaii, about as pro-American as you want. We nicknamed him "Eddie". We got Eddie and went out to see what the trouble was. We found there was a train wreck down the line a hundred yards. Three wooden coaches, filled with approximately a hundred Japanese each had been smashed up. The first people able to make their way from that wreck to the platform were just arriving.

I would like to explain that we had all the medical supplies that had been dropped to us. All the sulfa drugs, iodine, morphine, bandages, everything. We weren't going to leave them in the camp so we took them back with us. We got out on the platform and we organized. There were eight officers, of which two were doctors. We got two medical orderlies. We took the platform over and had a little receiving depot with people around there bringing us hot water. The other officers washed all the people that came up. The two doctors then attended to them and the medical orderlies bandaged them up. We went through the train and picked up the spare blankets we had, gave them to them and put them on the platforms.

Those people, practically half alive and half dead, still couldn't get over the idea of being looked after, given a shot of morphine and placed on the blanket, and the first thing they would do was to pick up the blanket and feel it, and see that it was wool.

After an hour we left that place and the only person left to care for people was a woman who knew a little about medicine. We had to give all the instructions and we left all the medicine and bandages that we had.

When we first stopped at the station, the civilians didn't know how to take us. And we were a little scared—

we didn't know what they were going to do. They stood goggle-eyed. When we left they lined up on the platform and cheered us. That gives a little idea of what kind of people they are.

When we arrived at Yokohama we had made flags out of pieces of sheets and crayons. We had an authentic American flag, we had a Dutch flag and we had a British flag. The Candians—we made one up. We also had one Chinaman but he couldn't design very well. We formed up on the platform, marched out and lined up on the street.

The next thing we knew there were cars strung around us and Red Cross girls were giving out cigarettes, candy bars and everything we wanted and from there on it has been wonderful. The boys have been really taken care of on the way back home.

I was taken and flown to Okinawa and from there to Manilla and it was there at Manilla that I first heard that my message had gotten through.

There are a few general points I thought you might be interested in, such as the morale of the prisoners. Generally throughout it was excellent. They would be down a day or so, but you never could keep them down, and to what to contribute that I don't know. I am not a Psychologist. I don't know how they did it. Maybe it was just stubborness. They weren't going to let the Japs beat them, no matter how bad things got. They would go back in their rooms and laugh about it, and whenever they got a beating that was an egg issue.

Mail was another thing that kept the morale going. Some people got letters, others didn't. The mail situation was very bad. If anyone did get a letter they would immediately take it around to everybody else, tell them all the circumstances about the person writing, and they knew practically the whole life history and by the time they read the letter they felt as though they had received the letter themselves.

That was another amazing thing—the exchange of confidences. The lads got together and there wasn't anything they wouldn't do for one another. We were in there together and really a lot of our camp was kept alive mostly on rumours. As you know, a rumour is a wonderful thing. Some we had to instigate ourselves in order to fill up—news was very difficult to get and was forbidden. No one was allowed to have newspapers. All the newspapers were bought by giving rice outside. That was the way we got the newspapers in and one way we kept up with the news.

I think that covers practically everything. If anybody is interested or would like to ask any questions after this is over I would be only too glad to answer them.

I would like to thank you very much for listening so attentively.

"TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AMONGST THE ESKIMOS"

AN ADDRESS BY

DR. LESLIE D. LIVINGSTONE, M.D., C.M.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, October 25, 1945

MR. THOMPSON: Gentlemen of the Empire Club of Canada also our unseen radio audience, we are privileged to have with us to-day one of Northern Canada's pioneers, our guest of honour having been a member of the original expedition to the Canadian Far North in 1922.

In the last two decades there have been great developments in this North Country of ours by men of courage and vision—These men are the true pioneers, worthy successors to their ancestors who laid the foundations of our nationhood.

With the establishment of the Mission fields, the finding of oil, the advent of the Aeroplane and the discovery of iranium, Canada's Great North country is coming more and more into prominence.

We are to hear about this fascinating land and it's people from one who has lived there continuously for a quarter of a century. He established the first medical service for the Eskimos in Baffinland also at Chesterfield Inlet, Hudson's Bay, later moving to the ewster artic where he consolidated the medical services over a wide area.

On returning to his native Ontario in 1944, he became a member of the Medical Staff, Department of Indian Affairs, being stationed at The Lady Willingdon Hospital in Ohsweken, Ontario.

It is with the greatest of pleasure that I introduce to you Dr. Leslie D. Livingstone, M.D., C.M., who is a direct descendant of the Livingstone clan—a sept of the

Royal Stuarts of Scotland—and named after his forbear, Dr. David Livingstone the famous missionary to Africa.

The subject of our speaker's address is "25 Years Amongst the Eskimos".

Gentlemen—Dr. Livingstone.

Dr. Leslie D. Livingstone: Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Empire Club.

I wish to extend to you my appreciation of the honour of being asked to speak to you today, and I will endeavour to give you some idea of the Northland and the native inhabitants and my work among them.

I landed in North Baffin Land on the 18th of August, 1922, and there for the first time was introduced to the most primitive of the Eskimo. They were a dirty rather unkempt lot, the men with long lanky hair topped by tam o'shanters handed down to them by Scottish whalers. The women were short and squat, invariably, whether married or single, carrying small children in their hoods. They were all more or less garbed in sealskins which was the staple source of clothing. Their clothing was supplemented by such imported articles as they could purchase from traders or whalers.

This was practically their first introduction to the practice of medicine, although unknown to many of the medical profession Conan Doyle had been a residential doctor aboard a whaling expedition some thirty years previous to my introduction to the country; and also there is the story of Sir John Ross in 1825, fitting an Eskimo with a wooden leg.

Due to the non-productiveness of the country little vegetation of medicinal value was produced, with the result that unlike the Indians the Eskimo had next to no pharmacopial drugs. 'Shaumism" or witchcraft had been practised and still is in some parts.

The Eskimo have not been in the Arctic from prehistoric times, in fact when the Norsemen under Leif Ericsson landed in Greenland in 984 and later explored the Eastern coast of North America as far South as the Southernmost New England States, no Eskimo had reached these shores on their trek from Asia, and it was not until several hundred years later that they reached the Coast of Southern Greenland.

It is rather interesting to note that the Danish Government in their investigation of the complete annihilation of the Norse colony established in Greenland in 185 was traced through two sources: one, the excavation of their graves; and the other the sagas of the Eskimo folk-lore which has been handed down verbally for undreds of years. The aboriginal Eskimo had no writing and all this folk-lore was passed on through generations by songs and stories. The story of the annihilation of the remnants of the Norse colony procured through the excavation of the graves, showed that these supermen through vitamin deficiency had deteriorated into an inferior people with tuberculosis rife among them. The Eskimo sagas showed that the remnants of the colonies were killed off by the Eskimo who drifted in in skin umiaks covered with white fox skins to simulate ice. They chased the emaciated scorbutic rickety remnants into a stone church where they were all slaughtered.

These same Norsemen contributed their tithes to the furtherance of the wars of the Crusades with Richard I, but following the Crusades during the next two centuries there was no contact with the West Greenland coast and when the ships returned in the fourteenth century no living soul remained, nothing but the walls of their stone churches and their cemeteries.

Eskimo stories were the source of entertainment during the long periods of Winter darkness, some of them being so long as to take a whole evening to relate. They were all mythical, linking up humans and animals. One of these which I think is typical and which has been told to me by natives throughout the Arctic, from Cape Farewell on the southern tip of Greenland to Behring Strait, with slight variation, is as follows.

A young Eskimo, unmarried, was out caribou hunting. He found it quite hard after hunting all day to have to cook his own meals and keep his tent clean. After several days hunting he realized that work around the tent was being done by someone with a feminine touch but he never could locate the person doing this. Eventually he arranged a series of zig-zag rock piles, "innossok", or blinds for deer-hunting. In the evening by means of these blinds he approached the tent and there saw the parka, or coat, of a fox-woman who had been doing this work for him. Knowing that a fox could not go without her skin, he made a wild dash and seized the parka hanging on a tent-pole. Without her skin she was helpless and looking for a wife as he was, the possession of the skin was sufficient to procure him one. The conversation was about like this:

The woman said, "Give me back my skin."

The man replied, "You be my wife and I'll give you back your skin."

Foxes of course are very timid animals and knowing this the man treated her accordingly. They lived happily and when winter came along they moved from their skin tent on the land to the salt-water ice and a snow house, travelling by dog-team.

The natives visit from settlement to settlement which might be several hundred miles apart. Once a native and his wife travelling spent the night at this man's camp and, according to an old Eskimo custom which has been carried on for hundreds of years, the visitor suggested the swapping of wives. This was satisfactory except that the fox woman was timid and the visitor was a wolverine, which animal slaughters foxes. He agreed to the proposition so long as the man closed every crack in the snow house as otherwise she would escape. This man was a careless fellow and left two or three loopholes open, through one of which she escaped and in the morning was gone. He was much exercised over the loss of his wife, so he hitched up his dog team and dashed after her, following her tracks in the snow. The tracks ended abruptly at an enormous snow igloo which was sealed tightly. He called to the people inside, telling them he had lost his wife and thought she was there. Someone cut a small hole through the wall and shoved out first a raven, then various birds and animals, asking whether this was his wife. There was a complete story of the habits of each of these animals or birds, so you can imagine how long this would take to relate. Eventually they informed the man that they could not locate his wife, but allowed him to enter the snow house under the consideration that he close his eyes, which he agreed to do. He was so eager to recover his wife, however, that after getting in he opened his eyes, and the snow house collapsed and everyone, including his wife, disappeared.

That is typical of one of the stories which the Eskimos handed down through generations.

The Padlemuits, probably the most primitive of all Eskimo, lived on the west coat of Hudson Bay. These people are called caribou-eaters, living inland and subsisting entirely on caribou. They are devoid of any fuel, with the exception of the small willows called "padlee." They live in elaborate snow houses during the winter and, without fire, eat everything raw, mostly caribou, of course. The adults eat ice or snow and the women carry small waterproof birdskin bags which they tie around their necks, filled with snow or ice each morning when travelling. By evening this is melted and supplies an adequate water supply for the children.

The original expedition in 1922 was arranged in order to send in a number of police to occupy the Island of Ellesmere. A year previously the Department had organized the expedition under the command of Captain Pickles, who died before sailing time, resulting in the expedition being postponed until the following year. It was then put under the charge of Captain Bernier, and the Medical Officer engaged had disappeared. He was the man who had made the trip to the Antarctic with Shackleton, and the Department being unable to locate him, gave me the appointment, and this was my initiation in 1922 to the "Arctic" and Captain Bernier. There was some question at the time of the previously planned sailing as to dropping police and supplies by parachute but it didn't seem feasible and was abandoned.

The "Arctic" the ship we used, was a three-masted government with the original intention of making a trip to the North Pole. Sir Wilfred Laurier engaged Captain Bernier to make this trip but in the meantime survey work was required in the Hudson Bay area and Dr. A. P. Low, doing this work, was transported into Hudson Bay and supplied by the "Arctic".

Later the ship under the same command went into the Far North, spending several years in North Baffin and Melville Islands. During the first World War the ship was laid up and reconditioned and from 1922 to 1926 carried on the Departmental survey and supply work. This included the establishment of several Mounted Police posts including one at Craig Harbour, one at Boche Peninsula, one in Northern Baffinland at Ponds Inlet and one at Dundas Harbour on North Devon Island; Pongnirtung in Southern Baffin Island, and Lake Harbour on Hudson Straits. Most of these police posts are beyond the Eskimo area, as there are no Eskimo farther North than Baffin Land. At one time there had been the remains of the oldstorehouses right across the coast to Greenland, which at that time they lived in. Apparently the original Eskimo that came from Asia one thousand years ago did not know what a snow horse was, it was only after they had been in Canada quite a long time they started using snow houses.

In 1926, my Department, as the "Arctic" was not large enough by this time to carry all supplies needed, chartered the "Beothic", a sealing steamer from St. Johns, Newfoundland. This ship was specially built for ice and was used for several years. Then in 1932 the Hudson's Bay took over the transport, and since that time the "Nascopie", a steamer built for ice, has been used.

Prior to my first trip into the Arctic, abdominal surgery was unknown although the natives themselves were quite adept in superficial cutting. During my early years there, there was no hospital or nursing facilities, and any work carried out was done with the assistance of natives themselves, Mounted Police and Hudson's Bay Company personnel and the Missionaries. During one of my first trips by dog team to the east coast of Baffiin, I encountered a very sick boy with acute pain in the abdomen, vomiting and a temperature of 102, a typical case of appendicitis. I carried with me such surgical supplies as required for operative purposes including knives, scissors and sutures, and I also carried a supply of chloroform for anaesthesia.

The work was done in a snow igloo under low temperature. I had a quart or so of alcohol which is used for lighting primus stoves, and this I used for sterlizing purposes, using about a square yard of oil silk, dipped into this alcohol for sterilization purposes, as a laparotamy sheet. The anaesthetic of chloroform was given by myself and carried on during the operation by an Eskimo woman, the mother. The operative table was a snow bench covered with seal and caribou skins and the light was supplied by two candles one of which was held by my dog driver who, although he could work in seal or whale blood to his shoulders, could not stand the sight of human blood and fainted, falling to the floor and extinguishing the light he held.

I left the following day, leaving instructions and dressings with the natives. Two years later when I returned the boy, by this time almost a man, reported to me, very proudly exhibiting his scar, his mother informing me he had remained in bed only four days after the operation. The sutures where removed by her at the end of eight days, as instructed.

Travel, especially in the East coast of Baffin Land, was by dog team in Winter, and boats in Summer. Most travel is actually done during Winter, and on salt water ice. The average dog team in that area would be from 8 to 15 to 18 dogs. The native sled is a long narrow sled about less than two feet in width and anywhere from ten to 20 feet in length. Everything is carried on the sled and piled on and lashed on for the rough ice, and dog feed is hunted as the natives travel.

Baffin Land, especially the southwest corner, is very great game country, especially seal. Seal is really the staple food of the Eskimo. It is used also for clothing and especially for fuel. The seal oil is burned in what they call a "koodluk". a stone pot, and the wick is made of a mixture of Arctic heather, Arctic poppies and some seal oil rubbed together into a mush, and the amount of heat required is regulated by the length of the fire they make along the side of this "koodluk". A small house cannot take very much heat, otherwise it will melt, or drip at least, and probably fall down.

I went to the Western Arctic in 1938, where I carried on medical services already established there. I had two hospitals, with adequate nursing facilities which served an area of several thousand square miles with an approximate population of 1,000 Eskimo and 600 Louchoux Indians. During my six and a half years there, with the assistance of several competent nurses, I completed a large amount of surgical work, including approximately 600 tonsilectomies alone.

I might say here that both the Indian and Eskimo have very large tonsile which fill up their throats, and when the chidren came to school they were all examined and any of them that had enlarged tonsils, they were removed.

Transportation is by dog team, boat and airplane, and serious cases of illness are transported mostly by 'plane.

The two hospitals at Aklavik cater to a vast area extending along the Arctic coast as far as King William's Land. It was here, off the coast of this island, in 1848 the Sir John Franklin expedition perished. This included the loss of two ships and some one hundred men. There was not a single soul left.

Education is carried on by residential schools, two of which we had at Aklavik each with an attendance of between 85 and 90. The children of both Eskimo and Indians are brought here from long distances. At the present time practically all these children can talk, read and write, in English, although few of the older natives can.

It was quite a difference from I would say 20 years ago the Eskimo in the East coast, very few could speak English at all, and although they were educated, they could read and write their own language, using the syllabic taught to them by Mr. Peck, missionary in there many years before my time. I remember Major Lockie Burwash, Department Explorer, saying, although only 5% of the Eskimos were taught to read and write by white teachers, at the time of his sojourn there 95% of the people could read and write. It was handed down the same as their stories from mother to child.

I have a letter here which is rather interesting, written by a boy since I came out. He was educated at the school at Aklavik. Bishop Fleming could no doubt tell you he knows this boy; he was at the school for several years, he had some hip trouble. (Reading letter).

> "Dear Dr. Livingstone: I am in the hospital again because Dr. Hayward said that my chest is not very good. I am sorry to tell you that the old black cow died and one of the calves. I don't know how long I am going to stay and there are seven of us in the room. There are four cows left. Buttercup was getting along fine before I came here. My guitar and Alvin's parcel came on the last boat. Alvin's skiis, sled and his jacket came but not his harp, and my ball and bat came. Before I came I was snaring rabbits and I set a trap near the barn door and next morning when I got there one rabbit was in it. Just as I was about to take it out it gave a big jerk and left one of its toes behind and I started to chase it but it was too fast, and as I was chasing it I stopped and looked and there was a rabbit hanging on the fence with a trap. It had been trying to jump over and it got tangled in the fence. I got five rabbits that morning.
>
> "I must close my letter now, and I am wishing

you all a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year, and I hope to see you again some day. Goodbye for now, from Harry Kigiona."

They are all taught now to read and write English.

The natives in general utilize everything the country will produce. Seals supply clothing, food, fuel, covering for boats, dog harness and tents. These are taken every month of the year along the coast. During the Summer and Fall the natives migrate inland to hunt caribou the skin of which is essential for Winter clothing. Polar bears and foxes are also used at times for clothing and those Eskimo in the northern part of Greenland, especially, use both bears and foxes.

At the present time the Department of Mines and Resources are developing quite a large herd of reindeer. These were brought from Alaska and are established on the mainland about 100 miles east of Aklavik. Eskimo are used as herders, and these deer are used to supply the needs of the natives for food and clothing. At the present time there are about 10,000 deer.

After my arrival at Aklavik I imported a Jersey cow and found out that cattle could easily be kept there. Later I built a barn of local timber, cleared and fenced some land, and imported more cattle. When I left there a year ago I had twelve head but the labour problem became so acute that I had to slaughter them.

Oats, barley and dye were grown for fodder and matured quickly. Grain planted about the twentieth of June was ripened by the twentieth of August. This rapid growth of course was due to the perpetual sunlight. Wild hay was abundant and with tractor and farm machinery, was easily harvested. Cattle remained in the barn from the first of November until the first of May, but during the Summer grazed on the luxuriant grass. The milk was used in the hospitals, schools and restaurants.

In the twenty-five years from the first introduction of medicine to the natives, until the present time, there have been vast changes.

It is a long step from the time of no hospitals at all to well-equipped hospitals with X-ray and even iron cscs mhmhm hfrfr wdwd ylyly pupup vcvcv bmbm gff lungs; and from slow transportation by dog team to the airplane.

Last year I flew from Aklavik to Edmonton, a distance of 2,000 miles in eleven hours, which, on going in seven years previous I went by boat, took me about four weeks.

I might say this was the first Summer that I have spent outside the Arctic since 1920-21.

Thank you.

"BRITISH COMMONWEALTH & EMPIRE CO-OPERATION"

AN ADDRESS BY

SIR JAMES F. SOMERVILLE, G.C.B., K.B.E., D.S.O.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, November 1, 1945

MR. THOMPSON: Gentlemen: This is indeed a proud moment for the Empire Club of Canada, when we have as our guest of honour the Admiral of the Fleet,—Sir James F. Somerville, G.C.B., K.B.E., D.S.O. Sir James, who has been in the Navy for almost half a century, served throughout the first world war with great distinction being awarded the Distinguished Service Order and mentioned in dispatches.

Prior to commencement of the second World War, he served as Rear Admiral of the Mediterranean Fleet and then as Commander in Chief of the British Fleet in the East Indies.

During the first ten months of World War II, he was closely associated with the Radar defense of Great Britain and participated in the evacuation of Dunkirk.

In June 1940, at the time Italy declared War, he went to Gibraltar as the Commander of Force "H" which operated in the western Mediterranean. While in command here, he carried out a daring raid on Genoa and played an important part in the hunting and final destruction of the Bismark.

Last winter this club was addressed by General Dobbie the "Defender of Malta" who told us of the magnificent job done by the Navy in seeing that supplies got through to them without which they would not have been able to carry on, the man who saw that those supplies went through was none other than our guest speaker of to-day.

One of Admiral Somerville's signals at the time, which read "The Convoy must go through" has like Nelson's signal at Trafalgar, become famous.

Admiral Somerville, early in 1942, was appointed Chief of the Eastern Fleet and, with numerically inferior forces, kept Japanese from further expansion westward over a period of two years. Then in 1944 with re-inforcements he was able to take the offensive in a series of strikes in the Japanese held territory of the Dutch East Indies.

His is truly a great record and as a result in May of this year he was given the well deserved promotion to his present high post of Admiral of the Fleet. He is to-day one of the three Active Service Officers of the Royal Navy holding "Five Star rank".

Gentlemen, it is with the greatest of pleasure that I now present to you the head of the British Admiralty Delegation in Washington, Admiral Sir James F. Somerville who will address us on the subject: "British Commonwealth and Empire Co-Operation".

Gentlemen—Admiral Somerville.

Sir James F. Somerville: I feel that I have some title to discuss British Commonwealth and Empire co-operation because my mother was a Tasmanian and if it had not been for her co-operation with my father I should not have been here to-day.

My father inherited our small family estate in Somerset at an early age and in accordance with the practice of the 1870's proceeded on a tour round the world. When he arrived in New Zealand he was so impressed with the possibilities of that country that he proceeded to mortgage the estate at home and buy two sheep runs. He then went on to Tasmania where he met my mother and became engaged to her. When the news of this double transaction reached my Grandmother in Somerset, there was the very devil to pay. To mortgage the estate except in dire need to avoid selling the family silver was a major crime, and as for marrying a Tasmanian, that was the last straw. My Grandmother's concern and indignation was shared by the villagers and in due course a deputation waited on the Vicar. "Passion", their spokesman inquired, "Wot be this yere yere we do year tell about young squire become engaged to be married?" Replied the Vicar brightly "Good news is it not, a very charming young lady from Tasmania". "Now do 'ee look yere", said the spokesman, "We do year tell as how these yere Tazzermainans be neither black nor white but a zort o' yaller colour". I am glad to report that the village was agreeably surprised when my mother with her fine rosy cheeks eventually arrived.

As a Midshipman from 1899 to 1901 I served for nearly three years on the Pacific coast where Esquimalt was our main base and it was there I first came in contact with Canadians. I remember most vividly how impressed I was with their general resourcefulness, and their ability to turn their hands to anything that really mattered, or seemed to me to matter, such as cutting lumber, building a log hut, blacksmith's work, cooking over open fires and above all catching trout and hunting deer, grouse and ducks. I remember also what pains they were at to impress on me that this was "God's own country"; that the Old Country was a pretty poor place compared with British Columbia. I rather resented this; I felt that these Canadians were fine fellows, fine handy fellows, but when all was said and done weren't they a bit too tough and weren't they too inclined to ram this toughness down one's throat?

Looking back on those days I feel sure that on my side, I was a fairly typical example of British Conservatism. Any departure from what were regarded as the normal habits of life, speech and outlook in the British Isles must be viewed with suspicion and initial dislike. As I got to know my Canadian friends better this feeling wore off; after all even in so small a country as England you will find different dialects and different outlooks between North and South and East and West; at least my Canadian friends all spoke the same way which was certainly not the case at home.

I mention these reflections and what happened to me nearly fifty years ago because I feel that even today there is sometimes a tendency for people in the Dominions to regard, possibly with justification, the people in the Old Country as being inclined to be high-hatted and superior whilst the people from the Old Country are inclined to regard their Commonwealth cousins as being in too much of a hurry to show what tough guys they are. It is a pity that this should be so and I think it is not unfair to suggest that both sides have skin trouble; skins are either too thick or too thin. People in the Old Country should remember that, in a sense, the great Commonwealth of new nations are wearing new boots, that these new boots may give rise to Commonwealth corns, and they must avoid treading on these corns.

But these little frictions and distempers disappear immediately when we fight side by side in defence of our freedom and liberties, it is then that we really get close together, that we get to the point where we say "this is my foot you are treading on, old boy" instead of "get off my crimson foot you clumsy beggar".

The history of the escort and hunting groups that kept the great sea routes across the Atlantic open during World War II discloses a comradeship in arms when feelings were seldom hurt by ill chosen words but on the contrary there was the ready give and take that you expect to find at a family party.

Canada has done many wonderful things in this war but as a sailor I feel one of her outstanding achievements was the contribution she made in respect to the protection of the Atlantic sea routes. It would be unprofitable to generalise on this and I propose therefore to give you a few facts and figures because these tell the story far better than any words of mine.

The total shipping losses of the Allies and neutrals during the war amounted to 4,770 ships of over 21 million tons. Of these ships, 2,770, or over a half, were sunk by U-boats. That was the score for the whole world, but of the 2,770 ships sunk by U-boats just over 1.900 were sunk in the Atlantic. Now how about the U-boats. How did they fare? Over 700 U-boats were sunk in the Atlantic; that gives you a pretty good idea of how desperate was the battle of the Atlantic, a battle in which the Canadian Navy played so prominent a part. It was a small part to start with because in 1939 the Canadian Navy consisted of 6 destroyers and 11 smaller vessels and just under 1,800 officers and men. But by the end of the war the Canadian Navy had been increased to 378 fighting ships and 95,000 officers and men of which nearly 6,000 were women. Of the U-boats sunk in the Atlantic, British controlled forces accounted for 462, U. S. controlled forces for 151, whilst 100 were sunk from undetermined causes but in most cases it was probable that these U-boats were lost in British mine fields.

The Canadian Navy assisted in escorting across the Atlantic 25,343 merchant ships carrying nearly 200 million tons of cargo. During the Normandy invasion and for many months afterwards, the Canadian Navy provided the entire close escorts for Atlantic convoys as well as providing about 30% of the striking forces in the North Atlantic. A particularly noteworthy operation was the safe escort of Convoy HXS 300 from New York, Halifax, Sydney, Nova Scotia and St. Johns, Newfoundland in July 1944. This convoy totalled 167 ships carrying over a million tons of cargo and was escorted by an all-Canadian close escort. It reached the United Kingdom without losing a single ship.

A particularly bad period was between January 1942 and July 1942, that is after the Americans entered into the war. During that period 670 ships were sunk, of over 3½ million tons and in return for that great destruction only 48 submarines were sunk; this gave a ration of one submarine sunk for every 14 merchant ships, the worst ratio during the war. By the end of the war it was a different story; two submarines were sunk for every merchant ship sunk.

I am never interested in discussions about who won the war, but I am most interested and concerned in ensuring that the part played by the British in winning the war should be fully appreciated. It is chiefly through ignorance of the facts that lack of appreciation arises and I am impressed by the genuine surprise expressed by many Americans when they are given facts such as the following; that the people, not of the British Commonwealth and Empire, but of the United Kingdom alone which has a population only one-third of the United States, sustained 1,032,000 casualties compared with 1,070,000 casualties of the United States; in these casualties the United Kingdom lost in killed 325,000 as against 252,000 Americans killed. The total of the casualties for the Empire was 1,515,000 of which nearly 429,000 were killed. Many people are equally surprised when they learn that in the British Merchant Navies 31,000 officers and men lost their lives as against just over 800 in the United States Merchant Navy.

As for the Burma campaign, fought so successfully under the direction of Admiral Mountbatten, here again I have often been asked what the British were doing in Burma, why did the Americans have to do all the fighting against the Japanese? But what are the facts? In Burma there were 600,000 British, Indian and Colonial combatant troops, the men who were doing the fighting, as against 12,000 Americans. These facts should be known, since unless they are known there is a natural tendency to believe that it was America who was called upon to bear the principal burden of the war, and that the British for some unexplained reason, stood aside and let their Allies do all the fighting.

It has also been suggested that our contribution in the Pacific was negligible. What are the facts? By the time the Japanese surrendered, the British Pacific Fleet consisted of 400 ships manned by over 238,000 officers and men and the South East Asia Naval Forces contained a further 170 ships manned by 176,000 officers and men. In view of our commitments elsewhere I don't consider that a negligible contribution.

Valuable as British Commonwealth and Empire co-operation has proved during the war, I feel it is after the war that this co-operation will be even more necessary. The extracts published in the press from General Marshall's report to the Secretary of War make it abundantly clear what he thinks will happen if we allow a third world war to break out. He refers, among other things, to the destruction of American cities in a few hours by missiles projected from other continents. I agree in full with the General, in fact I will go further and say I believe there is no adequate counter to the destructive weapons of the future; no counter in the sense that these missiles can be rendered harmless by being deflected or made to burst in the air before they reach the targets. In my view the release of atomic energy has turned over a new page in the history of war, and printed on that page there is just one sentence "A Third World War will be the end of Civilization".

Well, what are we going to do about it? Whilst the world is settling down to readjusting itself after the frightful experiences of World War II, standing armies, navies and air forces will be necessary but I cannot believe that the final answer for maintaining world peace is the maintenance of immense fighting forces in the hope, that if we strike first before the other side is ready, there may be a chance of knocking our enemy or enemies out before they can retaliate. That would be putting the world into a state of very unstable equilibrium, an equilibrium at the mercy of a hair trigger.

We simply must face up to the facts of what causes war, facts of death not facts of life, and we simply must determine what steps are to be taken to deal with the causes of war.

I suggest that if all the brains, talent, energy and human endeavour that have been directed towards preparing for war are now directed towards preventing war, the answer could and will be found. This answer may involve lessening the standards of living in certain countries in order that others not so fortunately situated may benefit. It may involve surrendering sovereignty to the extent that every nation is prepared to allow its activities to be investigated by an International body or commission to ensure that nothing is being done secretly to prepare and construct the new terrible weapons of destruction. But whatever steps are necessary to achieve the object of securing the world against another world war I feel sure that the co-operation of the British Commonwealth and Empire towards this end will be a most potent factor.

The Dominions are rightly proud of their independence, and are rightly opposed to anything that appears to question or to decrease this independence, but if I may be allowed to make a suggestion it is this—do not allow this Independence to obscure the need for co-operation and the security which accrues from co-operation.

The British Commonwealth and Empire is painted in splashes of red all over the globe. Individually the elements of the Commonwealth and Empire are of small account, but collectively they most certainly are of considerable account. Is it appreciated generally that in round figures the British Commonwealth and Empire occupies 14 million square miles of the Earth's surface, with a population of 558 millions, and that the combined areas and populations of the other two partners of the Big Three, namely the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics when added together fall short of these figures by 1,400,000 square miles and 232 million people? Anyone who thinks that because we have borne the heat and burden of the war for six long years, we must be exhausted and that we are now a back number had better think again. Many people thought we were finished in 1940, but we did not; and by "we" I don't just mean just the people in the United Kingdom; I mean all the peoples of the Commonwealth and Empire. Mr. Churchill warned us it would be "blood, sweat and tears"; we were under no illusions. The people of the United Kingdom were in the front line, but they knew they had the backing of the rest of the British peoples. That backing could only be effective if the routes, the sea routes along which reinforcement and help could be sent, were kept open. That was the duty of the Navies of the British Commonwealth and Empire, the fighting and merchant navies, and it was a duty which, I suggest, they discharged most adequately. Until the conditions in the world are such that a major threat to our sea communications can no longer arise the Navies, both fighting and merchant, of the British Commonwealth and Empire must be ready to co-operate again in keeping the sea routes open and thereby frustrate all attempt to attack the freedom and liberty we have enjoyed for so many centuries.

In conclusion I would like to tell you of a little incident which occurred whilst I was responsible for keeping open a small section of Empire communications. It was in September, 1940, when I was in command of Force "H", the name given to the Western Mediterranean Fleet, and it took place whilst the abortive attack on Dakar was in progress, and whilst my Flagship, RENOWN, with some other ships of the Force were in Gibraltar harbour.

The French retaliated by sending over about 100 bombers from Algiers to bomb Gibraltar. Although it was a bright sunny afternoon, the harbour and Rock were covered by a cloud caused by the Levant wind and we couldn't see the bombers. The bombers possibly couldn't see us but there was little doubt as to our approximate positions, and for nearly two hours the bombs rained down. RENOWN was straddled though not hit, the harbour was covered with dead fish, fires were started in the town, and dockyard and finally the dockyard fire engine itself caught fire. This was greeted unkindly by a loud cheer from the men at their stations on the upper deck of the RENOWN.

When the rain of bombs ceased I decided we had better get out of it; the A. A. defences at Gibraltar at that time were weak and we were sitting ducks for a further attack which I felt sure would develop next day. After we sailed, a small armed trawler, the STELLA MARIS, came into harbour and secured alongside the Mole at the berth RENOWN had just vacated. As I expected, on the following day the French returned to the attack and this time the poor STELLA MARIS was hit by a bomb and sunk with the loss of more than half of her ship's company.

Force "H" returned to Gibraltar about a week later, and in due course I proceeded to the Hospital to visit the wounded and sick. I came across a sailor in one of the beds and said to him "What ship do you come from, my lad?" He replied in a sepulchral voice "The STELLA MARIS, Sir." "By jove", I exclaimed, "You're lucky to be here at all". "Yes, Sir," he replied, "I reckon I am". "Now tell me", I asked, "exactly where were you standing when the bomb hit the ship?" He seemed slightly embarrassed and after a short pause said "Beg pardon, Sir, I wasn't aboard the ship when she was bombed, I was on passage out to join her". "Really," I said, "and pray why are you in Hospital, what's the trouble?" "Ingrowing toe nail", he replied.

"INTERNATIONAL RADIO IN WAR AND PEACE"

AN ADDRESS BY

MR. MICHAEL BARKWAY

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, November 8, 1945

MR. THOMPSON: Gentlemen of the Empire Club of Canada, we welcome today, as our guest of honour Mr. Michael Barkway, the Canadian Representative of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Our guest speaker was born in Yorkshire, England and, educated at Hailebury and Queen's College, Cambridge, having been honoured with the distinguished office of President of the Cambridge Union. Hailebury College, by the way, is the school attended by Britain's Prime Minister, the Honourable Clement Atlee.

Mr. Barkway, who recently came to Canada from the United Kingdom, has had a wealth of experience in the Radio Field, having been with the B. B. C. since 1934, commencing as a Sub-Editor in the News Department. He subsequently was placed in charge, from its inception of the overseas news service of the B. B. C. Perhaps there was no programme produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation which was of greater appeal in North America than the famous "Radio News Reel" which came to us nightly, without fail, throughout the war, the man who conceived and produced this programme is none other than our guest of today.

In 1943 he was in the United States as correspondent for the B. B. C., then returned to Europe as Deputy Chief of the Radio Section of the Psychological Warfare Division of General Eisenhower's Headquarters. He also served as organizing secretary to the Commonwealth Broadcasting Conference assembled in London, consisting of representatives from the British Dominion and India. He spent a year at Geneva as Broadcasting expert on the League of Nations Secretariat.

Radio, which has come to play such an important part in our daily lives, is on this continent presently celebrating 25 years of station broadcasting and it therefore, is very appropriate that we are being addressed today on the subject by one who has had so much to do with its growth.

It is with the greatest of pleasure that I present to you Mr. Michael Barkway, who will speak on the subject—"International Radio In War and Peace".

MR. MICHAEL BARKWAY: Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Empire Club:

It is perhaps unnecessary for an Englishman to tell you that there prevail on this North American continent a quite extensive assortment of traditions, assumptions, prejudices and legends about the character of the Englishman. During my various sojourns in the United States and my stay in this beautiful and bountiful Dominion, I have studied these legends with much interest, if little profit. I find it in me to hope that at some time, someone better qualified than I am, possibly some member of the Empire Club of Canada, will compile a classification and analysis of some of these legends. I think it would be an interesting work and an instructive work.

I am sure that one of the things that would emerge from it, would be a popular belief in a creature of the most curious construction, consisting—and I read from the bottom up—of a pair of spats, a pair of striped trousers, a stuffed shirt with a stiff poker down the spine, a hot potato in his mouth, a stiff upper lip—the whole crowned by a high hat.

I think it would also emerge that consistency is not the distinguishing mark of these legends. You know, for example; you must have heard a thousand times, that an Englishman is a character of absurd conversatism—he believes in a social system that is so old-fashioned as to be positively feudal. He clings with passionate tenacity to outworn forms and traditions; he resents and resists any suggestion of change. Or, alternatively—and this particularly since the political events of this summer—he is dangerously revolutionary, *positively red!*

Again, you probably know him as an arrogant creature, an overbearing sort of fellow with a monocle: or, alternatively, as a man whose modesty amounts almost to bashfulness; he will never tell you of his achievements, or boast of that which he has done.

I suppose you pay your penny and take your choice. I remember many years ago a cartoon which appeared in "Punch", a periodical widely believed to be stuffy and stupid by those who never see it (Amusement). The cartoon had to do with an English Public School (another institution for which curiously enough there is something to be said) and a small boy at an English Public School who was accused by a Master of breaking a window. The small boy happened to be the son of an eminent King's Councel. The Master said to him: "Smith, what do you know about this window?" And Smith said, "If you please, Sir, I plead, in the first place, that the window was not broken; in the second place, it was broken, but not by me; and in the third place, it was broken by me but it was an accident." Now, Sir, I have not the benefit of a legal training, but I confess that I am continually impressed by the capacity of the human mind to entertain at one and the same time, two or more contradictory theories without suffering the slightest discomfort from their irreconcilability. Why I should complain, I don't know, because this wealth of legend at least gives to us Englishmen the opportunity to contradict one or other of them; and perhaps to kid ourselves that we are being original.

I hope, gentlemen, that I shall not be arrogant; equally, with your forbearance, I have no intention of being unduly modest.

My subject is "International Radio in Peace and War." Since we beat the Germans on the air waves, a victory which considerably ante-dated our military victories against them, the British Broadcasting Corporation, which

I am lucky enough to represent in Canada, has run an international broadcasting service far greater than any that the world has ever known. I told you I was not going to be unduly modest. I was tempted when I received the honor of your invitation to speak today, to tell you of the strains, stresses, trials and triumphs which marked the growth of our overseas and international broadcasting service; it is a fascinating story: in its way it is a unique epic. But I think this is not the time for war memoirs, so I will content myself, if you will allow me, by giving you a very rough, highly impressionistic sketch of the coverage and influence which the BBC international service had achieved by the war's end.

Now when you are in a big organization like the BBC, it is always difficult to see the wood for the trees. I venture even to say the same may be true of the CBC. But I now have been out of the trees for some time, and perhaps better able to observe the wood, and I would like to make my sketch out of four incidents which have happened to me since I was in Canada, and mostly in very recent weeks.

I was in Ottawa a couple of weeks ago, and met a distinguished Canadian, who is a friend of mine, and I am perfectly sure would be frank with me, who had just come back from South America. He told me that he was surprised, impressed and gratified by the influence and the coverage of the BBC in South America. He told me this story. He was walking down a main street in Rio, and he saw two men reading copies of rival newspapers. They stopped, and he saw one man point out to the other a particular item in the paper, and he heard the other man say, "Oh, yes, but has it been confirmed by the BBC?"

A few days later I went to a party and was introduced to a man from the Canadian Film Board. As soon as he heard who I was, he led me away to a quiet spot, and said, "I have just come away from Belgium, France, Holland, Denmark, and a brief visit in Germany". And then he said, "Do you realize the influence that the BBC wields in those countries, that the BBC is regarded with a respect that amounts almost to veneration?"

For my third incident I go back to August of this year. When I was in Regina I was invited to be the guest of the Kiwanis Club. There also happened to be as a guest, a Canadian, who had spent most of the war in the government service in the Falkland Islands. He came to me after the luncheon and he said, "When we were down in the Falkland Islands, we listened to the BBC all the time and we thought sometimes their programs were not exactly adapted to the Falkland Islands."

For my fourth incident I come right back here to Toronto. The Chairman was good enough to mention Radio News Reel which, as you know, has been broadcast for some years now, nightly over the Trans-Canada network of the CBC at eleven o'clock, Toronto time, or 4 a.m. in London. As the Chairman explained, I have a certain direct pride in Radio News Reel. When I look back to the first edition of it in the summer of 1940, and some of the obstacles we overcame in the first three months, particularly, I certainly feel gratified it should have established itself as it has done.

I know one man in Toronto that has the same personal interest in the programme. That is Ernest L. Bushnell, the Director General of Programs of CBC. He was in London with us, helping us to establish the North American Service. He went through the day raids with us, the fear of invasion and the major part of the blitz. His visit is still remembered in London with respect and pleasure, and I shall always be glad to acknowledge the debt which we owe to him. I would have liked to say this in his presence, but as he is not here, I am glad to say it behind his back.

But I was speaking of Radio News Reel. In the last week or two the CBC has discontinued the nightly re-broadcast of the BBC Radio News Reel, though at their special request we are producing a weekly half-hour edition, which you may hear every Sunday night from 11 to 11.30. Now it is only fair and right that I should say that the CBC in all their dealings with us are consistently courteous and co-operative. They discussed this change with me well in advance. They explained their reason for it, which is, in brief, that they were starting their own Canadian News Round-up at 10.15, a programme of the same form as Radio News Reel and covering in part the same material. They did not feel there was room in one hour's broadcasting time for two programs of such similar form. That is a decision within their own proper competence to make. They are the best judges of how best to serve their audience from sea to sea.

These changes of course always evoke protests. I have heard some of them, particularly since an official of the CBC, whom I have not been able to identify, conceived the plan that it might be a bright idea to put the protests on to me. It is of course gratifying to find that Radio News Reel had a certain appreciation in this country, though I confess that some of the expressions of appreciation might have appeared to be more discriminating if they had been more moderate.

Now I mention that only to round out my picture—South America, Europe, the remote British colonies, and the great British Dominions, such as Canada.

If I may give you one more example in my attempt to illustrate the size and the coverage of the BBC's international service. At 12 o'clock noon daily on CBL you may hear the BBC news, 12 o'clock noon Toronto time is 1700 hours Greenwich mean time. It is 9.30 p.m. in India; it is 6 p.m. in Egypt and South Africa; it is 6 p.m. in Iceland; 5 p.m. in Gibraltar; 6 a.m. in New Zealand. And the voice which you hear at 12 noon on CBL reading the calm sentences from an underground studio at 200 Oxford Street, London, is heard simultaneously throughout India through All-India Radio, throughout South Africa, through the stations of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, by shortwave listeners throughout the Mediterranean area, in East Africa by shortwave listeners or through Radio Nairobi; by the troops in Iceland; by the inhabitants of New Zealand through the

New Zealand National Broadcasting service. I remember meeting a New Zealand farmer once some years ago, who told me he had erected a loud speaker in his cow-barns, so that he could listen to the six o'clock news in the morning while he was doing the morning milking. Now I would suggest the next time you are hearing the BBC News at 12 o'clock noon, you should let your mind wander in imagination to some of the other people who are hearing the same steady voice at the same time. Picture that New Zealand farmer in the cold dark of the dawn listening to the news from London through the swish of the milk in the pail! Think of the Johannesberg business man—perhaps on his way home from the office, stopping at the longest bar in the world in the Rand Club to hear the news. Think of the Indian student putting away his books for a moment to hear what's happening in the rest of the world; and whatever his political predilections finding that the most reliable source for his news is London! Think of the lonely garrisons in Iceland hearing a voice from home! Think of an Allied Mess in Italy with troops from half the Allied countries listening to the news from London! And never forget the crews of the little tramp steamers on all the oceans of the world gathering around the cracked loud speaker outside the galley.

If you will let your imagination range around the world, you will understand the fascination and the pride that we feel in the BBC, you will understand how we could work and eat and sleep in a dingy, smoke-filled basement in the middle of London, through blitzes and lulls alike, and develop, without accompanying Mr. Wilkie to Moscow, a yet more vivid conception of "One World".

Now that is all I propose to say about the wartime achievements of the BBC in international radio. I would like to speak in a moment of the possible pattern of post-war developments. But if I may, I would like first to put in an interpolation on the event which you mentioned, Mr. President, the celebration by a radio station in Pittsburgh, Pa., of the 25th anniversary of the first scheduled radio broadcast. The radio station was KDKA, for which I have the kindliest feelings. When I was down there two years ago trying to find out something about the coal strike which was then worrying the United States and some of its Allies, I was entertained most hospitably by the staff of KDKA. And part of their hospitality was to take me to my first big baseball game. I saw the Pittsburgh Pirates soundly beaten by the New York Giants. My hosts were most painstaking and lucid in their explanations of the mysterious performances going on in front of me, and I naturally followed their explanations with attention. Their explanations were so good and my attention was so unwavering that by the 7th innings, I thought I knew what was going on, and that it would be safe to consume the ice cream with which they had kindly furnished me. I was enjoying the ice cream when I suddenly had a poke in the ribs and my host said: "Get up; it is the 7th inning stretch." I did not know what it was all about, but I was anxious to do the right thing, so I said rather apprehensively, "Is it all right to go on eating my ice cream?" They laughed and laughed and laughed. They published an item about it in the Pittsburgh press the next day, but they never succeeded in explaining to me either the origin of or the reason for these mysterious proceedings. Since then it is hard to convince me that it is only the Englishman who goes in for apparently meaningless forms and ceremonials.

But this 25th anniversary that KDKA was celebrating last week was a notable occasion, and I notice that even the Globe & Mail was good enough to take notice of it in an editorial which I must concede to have been fair and sensible. It admitted that Radio had made great strides and conceded that it had a future, though it suggested that its future might to some extent depend on improvement in program standards—with which I certainly would not quarrel. But the article included one sentence which I must challenge, "With the arrival of chain broadcasting and sponsorship," it said, "radio came into its own."

Now, Mr. President, it may be true of the United States of America, that sponsorship brought radio into its own. Whether or not it is true of Canada, I believe to be a highly debatable point, though it's one I certainly do not intend to debate in this company. It is most certainly not true of Britain. It is not true of any part of Europe that I know (with the possible exception of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg). It is not true of Russia; it is not true of India, or of any part of Asia; it is not true of any of the Moslem countries. It is not true of any part of Africa. Perhaps we had better be generous and call it a partial truth. Though I think I might be permitted to observe that evidently editorial writers share with the rest of us a tendency to put short distance glasses on their noses, and then to ignore everything outside the range of those glasses. I think it is always a pity to do that. With radio it leads to absurdity, and I suggest to you that if you do that with television, you also may be missing a good deal.

In Britain we were compelled to close down our television service on the 3rd September, 1939, partly because it was a luxury and we gave up most of our luxuries, and partly because the equipment was required for some mysterious purpose which later turned out to be connected with radar. But before we closed down there were in Britain an estimated 200,000 regular viewers to the BBC's television service. There were five hours of program service every day, the vast bulk of it produced specially for television. We brought to the screen every outstanding sports contest and every outstanding public or ceremonial event from the Coronation in 1937 onwards. For technical perfection and programme quality it was a service unsurpassed—I will not say unrivalled, though I also believe that to be true—anywhere in the world. It did not depend upon sponsorship of any kind. I am glad to see that the BBC is about to resume its television service, and shortly afterwards to extend it to the big centres outside of London.

I hope you will forgive that interpolation. I thought there might be something worth saying there.

Now let me turn to the future pattern of international radio. The future is never an exact reproduction of the past, and we are never wise if we try to make it so. You may have noticed in my sketch of the BBC wartime broadcast, that most of the traffic seemed to be one-way. That was in the main true, but not entirely true, for two main reasons.

The first, a technical and military one. You can't get away from the fact that radio broadcasting transmitters give direction to aircraft, whether hostile or friendly. But with the astonishing ingenuity which seems to mark all radio engineers, our BBC engineers did get away from it. By synchronising transmitters in widely-scattered parts of Britain on only two frequencies they were able to provide continuity of service at the cost of a certain amount of variety. We had only two parallel broadcast services in Britain during the war—The Regional Broadcasts had to close down.

The second reason is simply that events in and around Britain for several years past have been of particular concern to the rest of the world.

But after the war, international exchanges can not continue to be one way. They must be based on a two-way exchange. With that in view, the BBC invited the senior executives of all the National broadcasting organizations of the Dominions and India to attend a conference which was held in London early this year. At that conference we pooled, so far as we could, our common problems, and we tried to lay down the lines of our post-war collaboration. I think we succeeded. I think in years to come you will find an increase in the number of radio programs exchanged between the countries of the British Commonwealth. There are a number of things to be said about that. I will confine myself to three.

1.—There is not and there is not intended to be anything exclusive about the relation between the Commonwealth countries. For illustration, there has been a regular exchange between BBC and the United States networks, and if I have said nothing about short-wave broadcasting from the United States, that is because I don't know what their plans are. Before the war they had a number of privately-owned and operated short-wave stations, which during the war were brought under national administration. What their future status will be I don't know; and as far as I know it has not been decided.

2.—An increase in the number of programs exchanged between Commonwealth countries does not necessarily mean more BBC programs coming into Canada. It may well be that it is more important to improve the quality of the BBC programs coming into Canada, that is to say, to increase their appeal to a Canadian audience than it is to increase their quantity.

And 3rd—this job of exchanging programs between different countries is not as easy as it may seem. If it were, I would probably be out of a job. I would have you realize some of the difficulties, and I can illustrate the main ones—again by an experience of mine some three years ago. I had recently arrived in the United States, I was meeting a lot of broadcasting people, and I had just been introduced to a senior executive of one of the American Broadcasting chains. He was extremely courteous and kind. He said, "I see that the BBC is carrying a number of programs from America." I said, "Yes, we were getting from the Armed Forces Radio Service some of the big Hollywood shows,—Bob Hope, Jack Benny and Charlie McCarthy: and we were broadcasting them in the Home Service regularly every week. Then he came at me with this shattering remark: He said, "I suppose that is going to make a good deal of difference to the organization of radio in Britain after the war." I confess I was taken off balance for a moment, but I collected myself, and I said, "Jack Benny, Charlie McCarthy, Bob Hope, were all very popular in Britain". Then I had to say that the listening figures showed—and I venture to say that the BBC's listener research figures are more scientifically and carefully compiled than is habitual in this continent—not one of these three big radio programs could get anywhere near the same audience that we could get with three weekly shows by British artists produced by the BBC.

Now, don't get me wrong. I am not for a moment saying that by any objective standard—if such were possible—the British shows are better than American shows. I am saying the British people prefer the BBC shows, and the American people prefer the Hollywood shows. I am not shocked or disconcerted or surprised when Canadian service men say they did not like the BBC home programs. Why should they? Every national radio audience is habituated to certain forms of presentation, certain accents, certain styles of production, certain idioms, and it is natural that they should prefer the familiar to the unfamiliar.

Let's come down to cases. Last spring, late spring the CBC asked us to produce for the Dominion network a weekly half-hour show of what we call a "magazine program", and they gave us pretty specific specifications. We tried. Our first two or three efforts were away off the beam. This was before I came to Canada. But we kept on trying. The program is now on the air on the Dominion network locally, CJBC every Sunday evening from 8 to 8.30. If you have not heard it, I wish you would forbear Charlie McCarthy one Sunday and ring me up the next morning and tell me what is wrong with it, and tell me why it is not interesting to a Canadian audience. That is the only way we can get shows into the idiom of the country for which they are intended.

That is the west part of the program from Britain to Canada.

East bound from Canada to Britain, the two circumstances which limited our Overseas material have now disappeared, and I recently had requests from the Program Directors of I think all the regions into which we divide Britain, for programs for Canada of a particular kind—Wales wants to hear what Welshmen are doing in Canada; Scotland wants a regular commentary on Canadian events; the Midlands want to hear Canadian speakers they've heard of. Fortunately Canada is equipped to comply with such a request. The International Shortwave Service of the CBC at Montreal (of which you may not even have heard, the CBC is so retiring), is in its infancy. Technically, it is excellent. On the program side it is staffed by very keen, and by some brilliant men, and I am waiting for an opportunity now to get together with them and discuss how we can best provide the BBC with programs from Canada which we can relay direct from Montreal.

Now, Mr. President, I have talked round rather than about my subject, but if you will permit me a rather naughty story, I shall conclude. An elderly lady in the English county of Somerset was greatly concerned over the morals of the villagers. She was or might have been a member of the W.C.T.U. She found a rustic laborer, whose habits for good or ill had been formed forty years ago, drinking a pint of cider, and she said to him reprovingly: "My man, can you get drunk on that stuff!" He said, "Yes, mum, you can; but it is a weary business." I sometimes feel that we who are trying to promote greater understanding between peoples by the use of broadcasting are like people trying to get drunk on cider —we will get there eventually, but it will take an awful lot of hard work.

"ENGLAND CANADA AND INDIA"

AN ADDRESS BY

SIR T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA, K.B.E.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, November 15, 1945

MR. THOMPSON: Gentlemen of the Empire Club of Canada, we are today honoured by the presence of one of India's leading citizens in the person of the Prime Minister of the State of Udaipur.

Our Guest of Honour, who has been in public office in India for almost half a century, has held many important administrative posts, a few of which I would like to mention. In 1912 he became second in command of the Madras City Corporation, which is the oldest Civic Body in India, having a Royal Charter from King Charles the 2nd.

During the first world war, he was India's Deputy Director of Munitions and at the close of the war was made the Diwan of the State of Cochin. He was later delegated by India to organize the Government's Pavilion at Wembley and was in charge of that building during the Exhibition period, 1922-1925. In the following year, he came to Toronto and opened the Canadian National Exhibition. In the same year he was honoured by His Majesty the King, being made a Knight of the Order of the British Empire.

On his return to India, he became a member of the India Central Legislative Assembly. He is one of the founders of India's Federal Civil Service Commission.

For 6 years, he was vice-chairman of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and is presently on this continent as a member of the India Delegation to the Food and Agricultural Organization Conference held in Quebec recently.

Incidentally, in 1939 he was invited by Mussolini to deliver a course of lectures on Indian Culture and Agriculture in Rome.

At the commencement of World War 2, he was made the Diwan or Prime Minister of Udaipur, which high office he holds today.

He has a stake in this country, having personally purchased, during his short stay, some of Canada's Ninth Victory Loan.

Our guest speaker is a great believer in the British Empire and has chosen as his topic, "England, Canada and India".

Gentlemen—I now have pleasure in presenting to you—Diwan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya.

SIR VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA: Mr. President and Gentlemen: I am deeply sensible of the honour conferred upon me by the Empire Club in asking me to come from the United States where I was sojourning to speak at the Empire Club. It is an honour I at once enjoy and it gives me very great pleasure indeed to enjoy this honour at this time.

If I may be allowed to say a few personal words, I would like to say how much I feel I am at home in this country. There are three countries in this world in which I feel thoroughly at home. One, of course, is my own country of India, the other is England and the third is Canada. When I come to Canada I feel I am among kindly and hospitable friends and if I suffer from anything I suffer from the multitude of hospitality and from the quantities of kindnesses they shower on me. I have nothing to complain of and I am busily occupied and I find myself surrounded by as warm and friendly an atmosphere as I should be in my own country or in England.

Then, when your President telegraphed to me in the Tennessee Valley, where I was, asking me to name the subject on which I proposed to speak to the Empire Club, I said, "I will speak on England, Canada and India." People might ask, why did I choose that subject. Well, my first reason is this: if I am asked to name any three countries nearest to my heart I should mention these ones. I should mention India, Canada and England as the countries which are nearest to my heart. At first appearance people may think that there is very little in common between so old a country as India, and, speaking at comparative distances, an old country like England and a very new, vigorous and young country like Canada. I think I will be able to convince you in the course of my speech that there is a great and subtle bond which connects England, India and Canada together. That is why I have chosen this subject and given it this title.

India is an old country, a very old country. It was old at the time when England was hardly known to civilization. We had a very old civilization at a time when a sailor boy from Genoa discovered what is now called the New World. It was an old country long before that, when the Romans built the Great Wall to prevent the barbarous races of Northern Britain from invading England.

May I remark in passing that it did not keep the invaders out of England and in modern times, if not in a civilized way, in a much more civilized way, the Scotsman has invaded London, and if you find anybody in power in London it is not the Englishman but it is the Scotsman who is in power today.

I remember how an English speaker came to India and said, "What I want is Home Rule—Home Rule for India." I got up and ventured to say, "Have you got Home Rule yourself in England? You haven't got Home Rule. You have Scottish Rule."

We have an old civilization, but the old civilization doesn't prevent us from recognizing the fact that we have bonds which connect with a more recent civilization, like that of England, and a still more recent civilization, like that of Canada. As I said, it may appear at first appearance that no two countries could be more different than India and Canada. You are a young democratic race, full of vitality, full of life, full of aspirations toward many things, and I see no limit to the possibilities of this country. Economically, politically, administratively and in every respect I see no limit to the possibilities of the future of this country. You are still in your youth and when you come to vigorous manhood I do not know what great things this country will not attain.

Now, if you ask, what is the reason that I put all these three countries together, and what is the bond of connection, I would say the bond of connection is this. We are all three fellow members of the same great Commonwealth, the Commonwealth known as the Commonwealth of the British Group of Nations.

In India the majority of us belong to a different faith than the people in Canada and England belong. We belong to a different race. We have a different colour, a different creed and we have different traditions, but one capital fact overshadowed them all. The capital fact is that we claim to be as much citizens of the British Empire as you in Canada or the people in the Mother Country do.

When I come to foreign countries with my British passport and people ask me, "What passport have you got?", I say, with great pride, "I have got a British passport", and when they try to write in their books," "Indian", I say, "It is not Indian, the passport is British, not Indian." It is a common thing and that is a fact of which we are proud.

You will ask me, what reason do we find for being proud of being members and citizens of this great Empire. We feel as much pride in it as the old inhabitants of Palestine felt in being a Roman citizen and Rome was in the ancient world, I venture to say, what England is in the modern world, and if Roman citizenship was so prized in those days, I think British citizenship should be equally prized.

You ask me what are the reasons I have for the faith that is in me. I have several reasons. One reason is that this England has been for centuries the nursery, the home of freedom, and when the Romans at Runnymede in the year 1215 wrung from an unwilling king, King John, that Charter of which I saw the original in the Library of the Congress in Washington—many of you probably know that during the war days that famous document was removed from the British Museum to the Congress Library in Washington for the sake of safety—I looked at that valuable document and I felt, here is a Charter of Rights, which they not only inherited themselves but you, we, all of us, spread over the far-flung British Commonwealth, have inherited. The nobles of King John's time built better than they knew when they got those rights from King John. They did not know that they had inherited those rights not only for their grandchildren, but for generations to follow and for nations that they did not know at the time and for countries of whose geography they had never heard.

Today I feel I am a British citizen, as much entitled to the citizenship rights which the Magna Charta confers upon the Englishmen, I am as much entitled as you are entitled, as every member of the British Commonwealth. That is one reason I feel at ease.

The second reason why I feel at ease is that it is a democratic country and the future is for Democracy. Democracy means not only the rule by the best for the best for the people, by the people for the people on behalf of the people, but it also means along with Democracy the rule of the reign of what is called Law.

That is to say no citizen whether born in England or any of the British Dominions or in India, no citizen can have his rights, either civil rights or personal rights taken away from him unless by a regular trial he is proved guilty in the courts set up by the country. No arbitrary power, no official mandate can abrogate the rights of a British citizen and those rights we enjoy to the full in India, just as you do in every other country within the British Empire.

That is why when we have our own quarrels—we have our quarrels with the British people but it is just like those family quarrels. We in India have quarrels with our wives. I take it that you in Canada have quarrels with your wives. May I say, in the absence of the ladies, the ladies would not quarrel with their husbands. But you find the man across the road trying to interfere in your quarrels, and see what happens. It is the same with India. We have our quarrels, but we propose to settle them in our own way. We do not want the neighbours to come in and settle our quarrels for us. We have several grievances but England, I still say, "With all thy faults I love thee still."

I have said why I love England, in spite of so many incidents which it would reasonable for many to forget, and for a wise politician to remember. One should not make too much of the past. One must look to the present. One must look to the future, but it has a still farther and a more important reason for its existence.

No apology is required in a country like this for the existence of the British Empire, but these are days of questioning, days of doubt, when the whole world questions every kind of organization and I might be asked what is the reason for the existence of the British Commonwealth. I would say this, that the British Commonwealth is the one safe unit which makes for world peace, which makes for world reason and which makes for the ideals which make life dear to all of us.

What would the history of the world have been if the British Empire had not existed and all the freedom which it has brought to the world were not forthcoming?

In the old days when the League of Nations existed I used to be told, "The League of Nations has not been very effective. What do you say to that?" I said, "Whether the League of Nations has been effective or not, whether the fault is due to the League of Nations, or due to the States who do not give it sufficient force and strength, I would not say, but this I am bound to say, that the British Commonwealth is itself a smaller League of Nations, but a very much more vital one than the League of Nations ever was."

Now, coming from a meeting of an organization in Quebec where we are trying to build a world organization forworld peace, I feel that one of the strongest guarantees of the future working of this organization, one of the strongest guarantees for world peace is the existence of the British Commonwealth. It is not enough to have merely an idea. You have got to work toward it and the British Commonwealth, its existence, enables you to work to reach the ideal which we all hope for, which we all dream about, the ideal of brotherhood of man and the federation of the world. That ideal may be a long time in coming, but the ideal has got to be preserved in our hearts, and I stated that the existence of the British Commonwealth, far flung over every country, and the ideals of peace and order and liberty, for which that Empire stands, is a step forward building up a world organization. So the existence of the British Commonwealth is not only an object of interest to all of us who are Indian citizens, but an object of interest to the whole world, and I am willing to go farther and say if there was more British Empire, and it is in the interests of the world to create something like the British Empire in order that world peace may be.

Now, I have quite often been asked, what are the aspirations of India? What do you expect to be done in the future for India?

Our aspiration for the future is that we want to be in the same position as Canada is today. We want to be inside the Empire, and as an honoured and equal partner among the League of Nations that compose the British Empire.

How long, they ask, before that will take place? I said, it is not wise to be a prophet but if I am asked if there is a time limit, I would say within the next two or three years, India could occupy a place in the Commonwealth equal to Canada, Australia and New Zealand. We could occupy the same place.

There are difficulties. There are majority and minority problems. I venture to say there is no country in the world in which there are not majority and minority problems. I believe there are some problems. May I say it with all modesty—there are problems in this country.

I have studied a little bit of your history—I know it. But those problems have been solved by wise statesmen. There are within the British Commonwealth, within the Dominions there are different races. Look at the history of the whole system of the British institutions, so flexible, so easy to absorb other nations into it. Look at the history of what followed in South Africa after the Boer War. The wisdom of one man, Campbell Bannerman, solved the problem which settled the problems between the Dutch and the English in South Africa. His genius and the system under which General Field Marshal Smuts, who was during the war an enemy of England, but is now one of its staunchest advocates throughout the world, solved the problems there. What other proof do you want of the ability of the British Constitution to solve difficult racial problems than the case of your own country and the case of South Africa?

And in our own provinces in India we have our majority and minority problems, but I feel confident that they will dissolve and one of the strongest reasons for my confidence is the presence of that great soldier, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India. Lord Wavell has impressed all the Indian people, including the people of the Indian National Congress who traditionally where what you might call the Opposition, he has impressed them by the force of his sincerity and by the strong conviction that he does intend to bring India as quickly as possible within the fold of the Commonwealth, and in Lord Wavell I think their hopes are justified.

The difficulty in the past has been that British statesmen have made promises, but they have been done in such a way that very often the people in India did not know whether those words really meant words which would be kept or words which would not be kept. Lord Wavell has been able to produce the conviction, even in the leaders of the Opposition Movement, that he does intend and that he is sincere, that he does intend as fast as possible to put India in the same place that other self-governing Dominions are.

That is our aspiration. That is our hope and, personally, I believe that that should be fulfilled in the next two years.

And if we have our majority and minority problems, I think English statesmanship, and Lord Wavell's earnestness, and agreeing to solve those difficulties, will do much to bring us together.

There are two parties in India, and in India as in every other country there is a small party that believes that India should have self-government outside the Empire. I belong to the larger party that believes that India's proper ambition should be to be a self-governing unit within the British Empire.

There are very many reasons why I believe it. There is the fact that now, in another ten years, will be 200 years of India's connection with Great Britain. Since India was won for the British Crown it will be 200 years in another ten years. I believe the second century of British rule will be celebrated in a free and independent India. I believe that will be done. I think myself there can be no more honourable position for India to occupy than to be a self-governing unit within the Empire.

There are very many good reasons. These are the days of big units and big corporations. Small countries in the struggle have not much chance of survival. When the war broke out in Europe one small country was overrun in the course of two days. Another small country was overrun in the course of a day. India is a big country but still no country today can afford to stand by itself. We are much better off if we are part of a large confederation and what bigger confederation can we turn to than the Confederation which is known as the British Commonwealth?

What government do we desire for India? Personally, I believe—I am of the deliberate opinion—that the Indian people, the Indian Princes, would approve of a government in which all of us owe a common loyalty to the King of England. It is difficult for me to imagine that the proud Princes of India and the people of India and perhaps practically all citizens of every part of the Empire can find a common throne around which our loyalty can gather, around which our feelings of respect can gather, than around the British Crown.

Can you think of any Royalty that has earned so much regard and has earned so much respect as the present British Monarchy? Think of it. Think of the great Empires. What has happened to the Romanoffs? What has happened to the Hapsburgs? What has happened to the Hohenxollerns? All those monarchies have vanished but the British Monarchy survives more strongly than ever today. It has survived all the difficulties.

India has a proud position as an Empire within an Empire. We are an Empire within an Empire and the British Monarchy is the bond that unites all of us in this Great Commonwealth. Just as the British Constitution has been flexible in so many different countries within its scope, so has the British Monarchy been able by its flexibility, by its wisdom, by its policy, to keep the loyalty of its people in a very difficult and troubled world.

English connections have known how to adapt themselves to circumstances that exist and how to bring them within one common bond of unity and every Indian, whether a Prince or a peasant is proud of being within that bond and observing allegiance to the same power, the same person to whom all of us owe allegiance.

A proposal has been made sometimes that instead of having merely the emotional relationship between the members of the Commonwealth there would be some concrete proposal by which all countries within the Empire can be brought together. If you ask my opinion on that matter, my belief is I would leave the existing thing alone. I would not attempt to write down any Constitution or make any definite Constitution for the Empire I would leave it as it is. Was it any order, any decree that brought the Canadians into the war? Did you get an order that one million of you from your small population of eleven million and a half should go to the Armed Forces on behalf of England, that another million should go to war industry and that the whole country should place its credit, its financial resources and its material resources for the benefit of England?

What was it that made the Indian soldiers go out? Mind you, there is no conscription in India, it is voluntary. What made two millions of Indians, people who did not know the English language, people who differ from you in faith, what made two millions of them go and fight in every theatre of war? What made the Indians go to an unkindly climate like North Africa and Italy, to fight on behalf of the British Crown? What has that made them? It is the feeling that he is a subject of the English King, and he isn't only the English King, he is the King of India. That is the point. Every Indian felt he might be the King of England, but he was the King of India too, and the Indian soldiers fought in every theatre of war.

I want to speak with due modesty about our countrymen, but I think many of you have read about the way they have discharged their duties in every part of the Empire. I believe it is correct that nineteen Victoria Crosses have been won by the Indian soldiers during this war. To many of them it was their first experience outside of India. It is a large country and to them it was a strange experience to go on what is called the black water—the sea. But that so many of them should be willing to cross the sea and fight on behalf of their country and their King shows what the British Empire can produce without any particular compulsion.

That is why I say you, in Canada, in India, in Australia, in New Zealand and in South Africa, in other territories belonging the British Crown can produce so much voluntarily the moment they heard the country was in danger, if they can go the help of the Empire, there must be something of great virtue, and there is a great virtue in the Constitution and if that emotion is there, I should keep it there and not reduce it to words which may and may not find response. So long as it does not matter whether you have a written Constitution which compels us to do this or do that, if England is in danger you can say in thirty years the same result will follow without a Constitution, and I think more without a Constitution than with a Constitution you will find they will come to the rescue of England. That is the virtue of the British Constitution. They are alive to the needs of the time and what greater freedom can you enjoy? Under the statute of Westminster the Dominions have got the right, not only as British citizens, but the supreme right is given of seceding from the Empire, if you so like. The very fact you can secede from the Empire will probably make very few of us wish to secede from the Empire. It will prevent you from exercising that right when you know you get all the advantages of British citizenship, all the advantages of British protection, and I see no practical benefits for any of us in getting outside of the Empire.

That is why I have got my faith in the British Empire. That is why I feel India's proper place is as an honourable and equal partner within the British Empire, and I believe the vast majority of my countrymen will endorse my words.

Now, may I explain to you why these countries, India, England and Canada are together. We have been brought together by the British Empire. We are there. There is one touch of Empire which makes all of us kin and my concluding words are these: Whom the British Empire have brought together let no man put asunder.

"THE R. C. A. F. BOMBER GROUP IN ACTION"

An Address By

AIR COMMODORE J. E. FAUQUIER, D.S.O., (Two Bars), D.F.C.

Chairman: The First Vice-President,
Colonel F. F. Arnoldi, D.S.O.

Thursday, November 22, 1945

COLONEL ARNOLDI: Gentlemen of the Empire Club of Canada, we are privileged to-day to have as our guest speaker one of that group of men whom Mr. Churchill referred to as "the few to whom so many owe so much".

Our guest of honour, prior to the war, was engaged in commerical flying, operating out of Noranda. Shortly after the beinning of the war he joined up in the R.C.A.F. being posted to Trenton.

Rather than use my own words to tell of his accomplishments in the Air Force, I will read you the biographical sketch supplied by the R.C.A.F. Headquarters in Ottawa:—

> "Air Commodore Fauquier's brilliant record in Bomber Command is well known to all and requires no elaboration, except to say that in the opinion of the undersigned, the decorations awarded to this officer, the D.S.O. and 2 Bars and the D.F.C., are a part measure only of the outstanding contributions which he has made to the war effort in general and to the R.C.A.F. effort in particular.
>
> Following a period of duty in Canada as flying instructor and staff officer in the training plan at the war's beginning, he was posted overseas where he rose to command the first R.C.A.F. bomber squadron in the R.A.F.—No. 405 Squadron. During this first splendid operational tour he was awarded the D.F.C. Then followed a non-operational tour as

operations staff officer during the formation and early life of No. 6 R.C.A.F. Bomber Group, the success of which organization was in large measure due to Fauquier's exceptional ability and efforts.

At his urgent request he returned promptly for a a second tour of operations in command of No. 405 Squadron, this time as the R.C.A.F. Pathfinder Squadron in the Pathfinder Group of Bomber Command. Under Fauquier's fine leadership and command, this newest pathfinder squadron rapidly rose to a leading position in this outstanding Bomber Group. Fauquier was awarded the D.S.O. and Bar during this operational tour.

Followed another non-operational tour with No. 6 Group, first as Station Commander, then Base Commander, then Operations Officer at Group Headquarters and finally as Senior Air Staff Officer in the rank of Air Commodore. His contribution to the R.C.A.F. Bomber Group during these most hectic periods of the great bombing offensive was, to say the least, unsurpassed. Continuation of his excellent staff work would doubtless have led him to even greater heights, but he chose instead to take a reduction in rank to Group Captain in order to return for a third tour of operations, this time in command of the most famous squadron in Bomber Command, No. 617 Bomber Squadron. Fauquier led this extraordinary fine squadron for the five closing months of the war and his leadership in its ten ton bomb attacks is already legendary. For this third operational tour he was awarded another bar to the D.S.O.

Fauquier's all round ability, keenness, leadership, and courage have soundly earned for him the distinction of being the most outstanding member of the R.C.A.F. in Bomber Command."

It is superfluous for me to add further words to such a citation.

Gentlemen: I have great pleasure in presenting to you: Air Commodore J. E. Fauquier, D.S.O. and 2 Bars, D.F.C.

Air Commodore J. E. Fauquier: My introduction by your Chairman today has done nothing to spare my blushes.

You have been informed that I am going to talk to you of the exploits of Royal Canadian Air Force Bomber Group, but I am sure you will permit me to tell you something of the larger organization—Bomber Command of the Royal Air Force—of which the Canadian Bomber Group was so vital a part. Equally vital was the part played by the R.C.A.F. air crew who, apart from those in the Canadian Group, were spread throughout the other Bomber Groups of the R.C.A.F. Bomber Command.

Perhaps the best way in which I can explain Bomber Command's contribution in this war is to give you a short history of this great organization and tell you how it operated.

There are very few people, for instance, who realize that this one branch of the Royal Air Force was approximately equivalent in numbers to the entire Canadian Army Overseas.

Bomber Command at the beginning of the war started in a modest way. It grew from a handful of brave men in very indifferent aircraft, as we know them today—mostly Whitley's and Wellington 1-C's—and it might amuse you to know that at the outset of the war these few original members of the Command were ordered to drop paper propaganda leaflets on such heavily defended German cities as Essen, Duisberg, Cologne, etc., but no bombs were to be carried. In fact, strict orders were issued to make sure that the propaganda bundles were packed loosely, as it would never do to have a bundle drop on a German's head and hurt him. From these modest beginnings the Command grew, under the brilliant leadership of Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Harris, to a weapon of such size and might that by its achievements it undoubtedly saved countless thousands of casualties for our Army and shortened the war by many months—in fact, years.

Let there be no mistake about this: the strategic bombing of Germany contributed more than any other factor to her defeat; one has only to see the devastation in Germany to realize that no country could put up a prolonged defence under such a hammering as she received. Evidence of this is the statement of Field Marshal Kesserling, probably Germany's most outstanding soldier in this war, who stated that the strategic bombing of Germany was probably more responsible for her defeat than any other factor.

Few people today are aware of the price that the Bomber crews paid for this. In killed and missing alone, not wounded, the casualties amounted to fifty per cent of Air Crews engaged on operations. This figure is by far the highest of any fighting force of comparable size. They also indicate the frantic efforts that the enemy made to stop the avalanche of bombs. His defences against those raids grew in size and effectiveness throughout the years of war. His night-fighter organization, for example, was his only fighting arm which grew stronger towards the end of the war and it was only by really brilliant radio counter measures and strategy that our Air Forces escaped as lightly as they did in the closing months of the war.

It is perhaps not generally appreciated by Canadians that the leadership provided by the Royal Air Force in Bomber Command operational planning was of the highest order and contributed greatly to the success of our raids.

When one considers that the enemy employed over one million men and women to halt these raids, it can be seen that a high standard of strategy was necessary.

It is always surprising to me to meet the number of people who imagine that a raid consisted of merely telling some air crew to raid, say, Berlin—when you stop to realize that a good-sized bomber raid is the equivalent of an army division launched against a heavily defended target, you will readily see that the raid becomes a battle and, therefore, required co-ordination and planning. For instance, feints were made, fake raids on nearby towns put on to draw off fighters from the vicinity of the actual target; radio curtains were thrown up to screen the approach of the main force; our own Bomber Command Intruder aircraft were sent in to shoot up and bomb enemy night-fighter aerodromes to keep their fighters grounded; our own bomber command night-fighters engaged the enemy's fighters wherever they could be found—all this and more had to be co-ordinated and planned to seconds; and this was done at the headquarters of Bomber Command.

Before I explain to you in detail how a raid was planned and executed, perhaps it is necessary for you to know how different bomb loads were chosen for different cities. There was in Air Ministry a special committee composed of experts on bombs and explosives and it was this committee's task to decide which was the most effective type of bomb for each individual target.

To give you a simple example—when we were attacking Turin, Italy, which was built, as you probably know, almost entirely of stone and marble, it would have been silly for us to carry incendiaries, and therefore our load consisted almost entirely of almost 100 per cent high explosive bombs. The type of bomb employed was mostly 1,000 pounders, 2,000 pounders and 4,000 pounders, with a sprinkling of 8,000 pounders. Conversely, when we were attacking the medieval Hanseatic trading ports of Germany, like Lubeck, Rostock and Dresden incendiaries were the order of the day, as nearly all the buildings in these cities were made of wood and would burn fiercely. This information was passed to Bomber Command and was used by them as a guide when they were detailing bomb loads to the various groups.

The actual planning of an air raid began with another special committee who chose all targets we were to attack and gave each one of them a priority. The priorities were decided according to their importance of the moment. For example, when the submarine menace was at its peak, it was not only necessary for us to sink them at sea, we had to strike at their very source where they were manufactured. In this case we would be ordered to attack such towns as Hamburg, Kiel, Bremen, or some of the Ruhr cities, where the sub parts were made. All these priorities were then examined by the Commander-in-Chief at Bomber Command, and were attacked in order, provided, that is, that the weather allowed us to take off, reach our target, see it and return. The Commander-in-Chief, after consultation with the meteorological experts, decided what target was to be attacked and how many planes were necessary to do the job. The actual plan of attack was made out by his operational staff advisors and presented to him for his approval, after which it was passed to the various groups in Bomber Command. There were actually twelve groups in the Command—four were training groups, one a daylight bombing group, one a radio counter measure group, and six night-bombing groups, one of the largest of which was our own Royal Canadian Air Force Bomber Group. Of these six fighting groups, each one consisted of anywhere from 250 to 350 four-engine bombers; the population of each group was approximately 25,000 to 30,000, all ranks. Thus it can be seen that our Canadian Bomber Group was approximately the equivalent of two army divisions.

The six groups would be advised that they were to attack a certain city and the bomb load each was to carry. In addition, a "Zero Hour" was chosen and each group given a different time on target, as it would be impossible to have over one thousand heavy bombers over one spot at one time and so if, for example, No. 6 Group was detailed for the attack, they might be given the middle part of the raid for their time of attack and if the raid was to last twenty minutes, they would be allotted a zero hour of Z plus 8 to Z plus 13—that would mean that all our bombers would have to drop their bombs and be off the target between eight and thirteen minutes after the attack opened. In addition, all groups would be advised of what method the Pathfinders would use to mark and illuminate the target.

Immediately on receipt of this information, the operational planning staff of each group headquarters would then figure in the minutest detail all phases of the proposed attack and allot different times for bombing to each squadron in their respective groups.

When the plans were complete, they were then passed to the Squadron Commander, who, after studying them, gathered his men together in what was known as the Briefing Room and "briefed" them, or, in other words, told them exactly what to do from the time they took off until they returned. Such information as the air speed they were to use, the height they were to be at at predetermined points on the route to the target and on the way back, what they could except when they reached the target in the way of markers from Pathfinders, what colours the markers would be, the methods the Pathfinders were going to use to illuminate after they had dropped their markers.

While the briefing was on the Ground Crews would be frantically checking and rechecking engines, air frames, cameras, radio equipment, radar, instruments, guns, ammunition, electrical apparatus, oxygen and, of course, putting the bomb load on.

As soon as the briefing was over the aircraft signed out as serviceable by the Ground Crews, the pilots would marshal their aircraft. That is they would line them up nose to tail near the end of the runway to be used that night.

Then began the wait which was so hard on the nerves. This probably was the most trying time of the whole raid. The time would come eventually, however, for the crews to get into their flying clothes which consisted of heavy fleece-lined boots, heavy sweaters, electrically heated outer clothes for the gunners, electrically heated shoes and gloves for the gunners, check their helmets to insure that the oxygen and inter-communication system was serviceable; and finally, collect their parachutes and then into an air crew bus and out to their respective aircraft.

Approximately ten minutes before the time of take-off you would hear as many as 160 engines come to life and roar up to full revolutions as the pilots gave them their final check before take-off. It literally used to shake the earth. Finally, the aircraft would start rolling heavily toward the runways. You couldn't taxi quickly because the aircraft weighed at that time before take-off, somewhere between 60,000 and 70,000 pounds. They were difficult to handle when they were that heavy, so we had to be very careful. You drove slowly up to the end of the runway and when it was your turn to take off you turned slowly into wind on the runway and on receipt of a green light flashed at you by the Aerodrome Control Pilot or starter, you pushed your throttles forward and were away. From that time until you returned you were entirely on your own. Unlike fighting on the ground or daylight bombing, when you could see what your pals are doing, at night you are entirely alone.

Then began the long haul, climbing as fast as possible in order to be at the correct height as ordered at briefing by the time you reached the enemy coast. The enemy coast will gradually appear before you and you would see searchlights snapped on very much as a flashlight would appear to you across a field at night, except that the silver and light blue beams, as thin as pencils, reached up far above your height. At the same time orange bursts were fired from heavy aircraft shells at approximately your height would tell you the battle was about to commence. You would watch the searchlights very closely and avoid large concentrations of them if it was at all possible. To be caught in their beams and coned was to ask for trouble, as the German wisely considered a bird in the hand worth two in the bush and would throw everything within range at the illuminated aircraft. Unless you got out of this cone fairly soon, in approximately 30 to 40 seconds, your chances of survival were rapidly approaching the zero mark. To be illuminated by a large number of searchlights at night gives one the most conspicuous feeling imaginable. In fact you could not feel more conspicuous if you were to walk down Yonge Street without your trousers. It makes you feel as if every German in Germany were looking at you personally, and rubbing his hands and saying, 'We've got you this time, Boy".

However, by altering course slightly and diving and gathering a little speed it was usually easy enough to get out of the view of the coastal defences and start again your long trip to the target. From the moment the enemy coast was sighted every eye in the aircraft was straining and searching for enemy night fighters—and that meant seven pairs of very alert eyes. You probably know that a bomber crew consisted of pilot, navigator, bomb aimer, flight engineer, wireless operator, mid-upper gunner and tail gunner.

If you saw the fighter in time, you took avoiding action. If not, you were usually listed as "Missing", as things happened pretty quickly in the air and especially at night, so very little warning was ever given of the approach of this type of danger. From time to time before reaching your target it was necessary to pass over or near ground defences which never failed to salute you with a barrage of heavy flak. This would continue until you neared your goal, when far ahead, sometimes 40 or 50 miles, you would see that the Pathfinders were on their job by the target markers which they would drop to mark the main point in the target that you were about to attack. Immediately after, hundreds of flares would be dropped also by the Pathfinders to illuminate the city beneath. We were usually then about 20,000 feet in the air. Of course the enemy defences here were more concentrated and the display of fireworks would put your Toronto Exhibition to shame—searchlights by the thousands, guns both heavy and light, firing different coloured shells, the burst of heavy anti-aircraft shells all around you and, unfortunately, too often you would see the exchange of tracer bullets followed by a long thin stream of fire hurtling vertically towards the earth. This would be one of our own bombers on fire. It would be followed by a crash, by a large red fiery mushroom shaped explosion which seemed to blossom out and stay exposed for two or three seconds, then die out leaving a few glowing embers. Occasionally, you would see a tremendous mid-air explosion which would light the sky for many miles around. That would be one of the poor chaps who received a direct hit, usually in a petrol tank, and exploded in mid-air.

Various forms of anti-aircraft shells were used by the enemy. Some of the more spectacular ones would rocket into the air, leaving a trail of sparks behind them and on bursting, three other rockets would shoot out at different angles until they, too, exploded.

On the ground was a bubbling mass of brilliant white light, which looked exactly like boiling solder in a plumber's fire pot. These white lights were the incendiaries fiercely burning, and when they set buildings on fire the white light would turn into a deep orange. Occasionally, when we raided towns where there were chemical factories we would see flames of every colour of the rainbow—blue, green, yellow and pink. All the time, the flashes from the gun muzzles of heavy flak batteries could be seen as the guns fired—then came the wait of a few seconds, approximately 12 to 17 seconds, and finally the thud and blast of air as the shell exploded near you. Often you could smell the fumes from the shell explosions as you flew through the spot where the explosion took place a second before.

It is very hard to explain all the details but it was rather a pretty sight, even if we were playing for keeps. Throughout all that time only the gunners were able to keep a lookout for enemy fighters as the rest of the crew had a special job to do. The bombing run was usually a tense few moments, when the bomb aimer guided you to your aiming point. Eventually the time would come when he would yell "bombs gone", and you could feel the aircraft jump as each heavy bomb left its station.

You usually kept on a steady course for approximately thirty seconds, in order to allow the camera to take a picture of the actual spot where your bombs landed. Immediately after this you set a course for home and I can assure you it was a really wonderful feeling.

However, all danger was not yet over, as all the way back you had to be on the lookout for night fighters, as you were on the way in. If you saw one a running fight would ensue, until he either got you or you lost him. Sooner or later, however, the English coast would appear, and then your own aerodrome. You then wait your turn to land and after landing be interrogated.

Sometimes these trips took as much as nine or twelve hours. That, with the relaxation of the tension after landing brought on extreme fatigue and that is why most air crews received such liberal leave.

I think that now is a good time to tell you something of the history and methods of Pathfinders. In the beginning of the war you will recall the Royal Air Force had won renown for the battle of Britain. Shortly after this, fighters found it very difficult to come to grips with the enemy and it was from this point on that Bomber Command took the spotlight. In those days the equipment used by Bomber Command was such that only approximately three per cent of our bombs were hitting the aiming point and unfortunately it was at this precise time that the submarine menace grew to its peak. This situation encouraged certain people to believe the time had come to disband Bomber Command, splitting it up between Coastal Command and various other branches of the services. Thus it will be noted that some indication of the might of the heavy bomber had to be given to the public. With this in mind, the first one thousand aircraft raid was planned and turned out to be a very successful raid indeed. It was originally planned for Hamburg but the weather made it impossible for us to carry it out on Hamburg, so two days later we attacked Cologne, and at one time I can assure you the whole city, without exception, was on fire. I was there and I know. This spectacular raid once again convinced the powers that be that separate air force and especially a bombing force could be very useful indeed, but at the same time it was realized that greater accuracy in bombing was absolutely essential.

Shortly after this, several Squadron Commanders were detailed to report to Air Ministry, of which I was one, where we discussed the formation of a corps d'elite who would consist of all our best crews in the Command and who would lead all raids in the hope that their example and incendiary fires would act as markers for the more inexperienced crews following them. This name was later changed to the Fire Raising Force and finally named the Pathfinders. The man who was to head this force is probably well known to you—he is Air Vice-Marshal Bennett—no doubt one of the world's best navigators.

Under his leadership the Force rapidly grew in effectiveness due to an extensive and concentrated training programme, into a full-sized group in Bomber Command which was not only capable of marking and illuminating very accurately, but could, in addition, carry a heavy load of bombs.

The technique used was roughly as follows: In the case of targets at close range, Mosquito Aircraft were sent out, flying very high, with a bomb load of target indicators; these were bombs filled with "Roman Candles", with a barometric fuse. When the bomb dropped as it descended through the rarefied air and got into heavier air the barometric fuse was ignited or detonated which in turn would detonate a small exclusive charge which lighted the bomb off and lighted the Roman Candles and out would shower some different coloured stars. It was rather interesting to know that one of the methods by which these Mosquitoes was controlled was by radar from England, enabling them to drop their target indicators with an accuracy of approximately 100 yards from their aiming point when the pilot couldn't even see the target. In fact, the signal to drop was given from England.

Immediately the Mosquito had dropped his indicator, Lancaster aircraft of Pathfinders followed up by dropping different coloured target indicators on top of the first ones, in order to keep the target continually marked throughout the attack and in case the high explosive bombs blew the original markers out. In case of longer range targets we were forced to use aircraft carrying their own radar and these aircraft would fly over the target by means of this radar equipment and drop their target indicators. There would be as many as 10 or 15 aircraft so equipped doing this work. The accuracy on this type of target was not so great as in the close raid targets, but with fifteen aircraft dropping their markers at the same time, the main force crews following obviously would average out the error if they aimed at the center of all the markers visible. In other cases the target was first located by radar, an indicator dropped, immediately followed by a straight line of flares dropped at intervals for a distance of about five miles, and by the light of these flares a special crew would go as low as was safe in view of the defences and visually bomb a particular building or aiming point in the city beneath.

Now, a word about a Special Duty Squadron which I was fortunate enough to command in the closing stages of the war.

This Squadron was formed primarily with the idea of breaching the Mohne, the Eider and Shorpe dams. The Officer chosen to train and lead this Squadron was Wing Commander Gibson, of whom you all know. His success on this raid is now history. As this Squadron was so successful in this initial task it was decided that it should continue performing special duties of this nature, and with this in mind they were provided with streamlined 12,000 pound bombs, primarily for attacking large battleships and reinforced concrete submarine pens, which the Germans used to repair and refit their submarines and still be safe from the ordinary bomb. Toward the end of the war we received the news that a new bomb was going to be sent to us, weighing 22,500 pounds. In order to give you a rough idea of the size of this bomb, I assure you you could drive a good sized Buick up the side of it and the bomb was bigger in diameter from the distance from the top of the hood of the Buick to the ground: It was considerably longer than the largest Cadillac. As great accuracy was required in order not to waste these bombs, the Squadron was provided with special bomb-sights. The accuracy of these bombs and the crews dropping them can best be judged by the fact that when we raided the viaduct at Arnsberg in Germany, the greatest error was 100 yards from the aiming point and when one considers that these bombs shift approximately 10,000 tons of earth when they explode, it can be seen that it wouldn't have been too safe to have been on that viaduct. It might interest you to know that these bombs penetrate into the ground 110 feet and go forward about 65 feet.

Now, a word about the men on the ground who kept the aircraft serviced and made all this possible by tremendous work, in rain, snow, freezing cold. They were always ready to carry on 24 hours a day, day after day, to see that the aircraft were not just fit enough, but perfect in every detail.

I would like to say a few words about the men who did the bombing—your men. In any combat unit where casualties are high, morale is subjected to great stress. It is depressing to see the empty places at the mess table the next day. It is equally depressing for the new replacements coming in to have to occupy these places, but never for a moment did a crack appear. The will to do the job thoroughly never faltered.

Recently a public statement was made by a prominent Canadian over the radio, that these young men flew by the seat of their pants and took longer to train for Civil Air Line flying than men without previous flying experience.

Well, I agree that comparisons are odious, but I cannot let this statement pass unchallenged. How can this gentleman reconcile this statement with the facts, when you consider these same young men, your sons, brothers and friends, have taken off in really appalling weather, flown 1,000 miles through icing conditions, which have to be experienced to be believed, harried by night fighters throughout, shot at by heavy guns, yet arrived at their targets by the second. And I mean by the second, not to the minute, but by the second. And then repeated the procedure on the homeward trip to arrive back at base and be forced to execute a landing on a radio beam with their aircraft as often as not badly shot up, in weather conditions when Civil Air Lines wouldn't wheel their aircraft out of the hangar, let alone fly them.

No, this statement was unworthy, to say the least, and even if this gentleman had thought it true, it had better be left unsaid.

Finally, may I add a few words regarding something I mentioned earlier, concerning the saving of army casualties by the strategic bombing of Germany. Does anyone here seriously think that the war would be over now if Germany had been able to maintain her oil and gasoline plants intact, her iron and steel empire working full blast; her internal rail and roal communications unimpaired; her canals filled with water and fit for navigation; her factories standing and producing war materials and her colossal army of civilian workers well housed and organized?

No! The war would be on today, and the casualties on D-Day would have been far higher. So to those of you who suffered losses and to those who happened to be more fortunate and escaped, to all of you I say, "Remember those of Bomber Command who gave their lives so others might live."

"CANADA AND HER DEFENCE FORCES"

An Address By

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE R. PEARKES, V.C., C.B., D.S.O., M.C.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, November 29, 1945

Mr. Thompson: We today welcome to our platform, one of Canada's distinguished soldiers, in fact, one of her most outstanding military men.

Prior to World War I, our guest of honour made a good beginning by joining the R.C.M.P. Then at the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, he enlisted as a private in the Second Canadian Mounted Rifles, receiving his commission in the Ypres salient. On the Somme in 1916, he won the Military Cross; at Passchendale in 1917, he was awarded the Victoria Cross; and at Amiens in 1918, the Distinguished Service Order. In recognition of his services he has been honoured by His Majesty the King with the title of Commander of the Bath.

Following World War I, our speaker remained with the permanent force, holding various appointments, finally being promoted to the rank of District Officer Commanding Military District Number 13 at Calgary, which post he held at the outbreak of war in 1939.

At the commencement of World War 2, he was placed in command of the Second Infantry Brigade, later assuming command of the First Canadian Division, which he retained until the Japanese entered the war against the United Nations when he was recalled to Canada to organize the defence of the Pacific Coast.

Although he retired from military service this year, he was not content to rest on his laurels and offered himself as a candidate in the Federal Election last June, where he was successful in winning the seat of Nanaimo, B. C. for the Progressive Conservatives. It was to be expected that a man of such exceptional qualities would be heard from as soon as he took his seat in the House of Commons and this is the case; he is the champion of the National Policy of adequate defence.

It is with extreme pleasure that I present to you, Major General George R. Pearkes, V.C., C.B., D.S.O., M.C., who will address us on the subject—"Canada and Her Defence Forces".

Gentlemen—General Pearkes.

MAJOR-GENERAL PEARKES: Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Gentlemen: I esteem it a great privilege that you should have invited me to speak to The Empire Club of Canada today on the subject of "Canada and Her Defence Forces".

I know we have just finished the war. Perhaps we are all war weary, but it might be well for us just to pause in the every day life of our country to think of the future. I do want to suggest one or two thought-provoking ideas which I hope you will ponder over in your leisure moments in the time to come.

At the present time our Defence Departments are fully occupied in repatriating the soldiers, sailors and airmen from overseas and demobilizing those that they have brought back from Europe and from the Far Eastern theatre, so that they may occupy their appointed place in civilian life. The repatriation policy has been one which the Government of Canada set out as soon as V-E Day was declared with slight modifications. Originally, the Government decided that those who had given the longest and hardest service should be the first to be repatriated, and in order to implement that policy they devised a point system whereby two points were allotted for service in Canada, and one point for service overseas.

Well, experience has shown that that did not reach the desired end, because there was too much weight given in the point system to service in Canada and very little, if any, additional consideration was given to those men who had actually fought on the field of battle, because one point was allotted to men who served overseas, and overseas included service in England and did not make any distinction between service in England and service in an actual theatre of operations.

However, the policy has worked out to the extent that quite a large number of men of all services have now been brought back to Canada, and many men who went from Ontario are today arriving back in their home cities. With the exception of the Force which is required to serve with the Army of Occupation in Germany, the majority of our Canadian soldiers will be back in Canada by the spring. But it is unfortunate that some of those men who were through all the hard fighting in Sicily and in Italy and in Northwest Europe are still retained in the theatre of operations, when men who have seen less service are returned to Canada ahead of those who have actually given the longest and hardest service.

As far as the demobilization of the men who have returned to Canada is concerned; those men are being absorbed into civilian life as far as industry can take care of them, and those young men who went overseas straight from school are, before they become established, being given the opportunity of taking various courses at universities and in vocational training in order that they may be equipped to take their place in the industrial life of this country.

I know that here in Toronto, exceptional efforts are being made in order to give the young men of the Services an opportunity to learn a trade so that they may have no difficulty in finding gainful employment when they have become equipped with the necessary technical knowledge.

I would like to ask your earnest consideration and sympathy for those troops who must remain in Europe this winter and for an indefinite period of time. By agreement, Canada was allotted a proportion of the Army of Occupation. I believe that we have agreed to detail some 20,000 to 25,000 men to help in that all-important task of establishing law and order in Germany, and in seeing that a right form of government is established there and in providing to the people of the conquered countries the food and supplies which are necessary to prevent them from literal starvation during this winter.

Somebody has to do that task. If it is not well done then the sacrifices which have been made by our fighting men will be brought to naught. We have only got to think of what happened after the last war to realize that Germany was then given an opportunity to raise a secret army which when expanded developed into the armed forces that she used so effectively in 1939, 1940 and 1941. She must not be permitted to do that again. Therefore, all of us must bear our share in ensuring that she does not have those opportunities.

After the last war Great Britain maintained an Army of Occupation on the Rhine of limited numbers, covering a limited section of the territory for some ten years. However long she will have to keep an army of occupation this time will depend entirely upon circumstances, but I do not believe that we should ask the Old Country to bear all the burden and we who are members of the Commonwealth of Nations, which we call the British Empire, should also be prepared to bear that burden, no matter how hard and irksome the task may be.

But I do ask for your consideration of the actual men who are doing that Canadian duty. A very small proportion of them have volunteered for that task. The majority of the Canadian Occupational Force is composed of men who volunteered for general service and who went over to Europe and some of whom took part in the heavy fighting after V-E Day, and others who arrived after the actual landings had taken place, but they have been detailed for this very difficult task of the Army of Occupation and it is a task not removed from danger by any manner or means.

You will have read what Field Marshal Montgomery said about the danger of epidemics sweeping across Europe this winter and thereby causing the death of millions, and the Army of Occupation is exposed to those dangers. They are existing on reduced rations and they have very few of the comforts of life. They are living in areas which have been destroyed by our bombardment and in areas to which it is extremely difficult to transport any fuel which may be mined from the Ruhr or else imported into Europe, because the transportation systems of Europe and Germany have been completely shattered by the action of our forces during the war and it is for those reasons that I ask for special consideration by everybody in Canada of the Canadian troops who still are carrying out Canada's share of the task of the Army of Occupation.

While that Army of Occupation with its attendant Air Force is still overseas and while we are waiting for a decision as to what our defence forces of the future should be, all three Services, the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force, have recruited interim forces which will be prepared for the time being to supply such re-enforcements as may be required for the Army of Occupation, and will be prepared for the defence of Canada if necessary; or to meet any commitments which we are asked to carry out by the United Nations. But there is essentially an interim force waiting until such time as a decision is reached by the Government as to the type of defence forces which Canada requires in the postwar period.

I would like to ask you to bear with me while I throw out a few thoughts regarding the type of defences that we may require in the years to come. What I say are entirely my own ideas, and I am not speaking for any group or particular party. I am merely giving you my ideas, based upon such experience of the past and such reading as I may have done.

The first thing I would like you to ponder over is the effect of the new weapons which have been introduced into warfare during the last year of the war. Those new weapons have proved their dreadful effectiveness, with the result that I do not believe it is an exaggeration to say that we are entering into a new era of warfare, a scientific era, a change far greater than the change which took place in the methods of warfare by the invention of gunpowder. Gunpowder was introduced centuries ago, and its effect upon the armies of those old days was very,

very great, but today the effect of the new scientific inventions has been launched upon us and takes almost full effect the moment that those weapons have proved their effectiveness. It has completely changed—what shall I say?—the atmosphere of the last quarter of a century because during that period in the latter stages of the last war, when we thought of trenches and barbed wire, and in the early stages of this war, the defensive weapons had superiority over the offensive weapons, but the weapons of offense today know no answer in weapons of defence at the present moment.

So the pendulum has swung so all the advantages lie with that power which should decide to launch an offensive. No adequate defence at the present moment exists to the latest inventions of Science.

I refer you to such inventions as the rocket bomb, the radio-controlled aircraft, the jet-propulsioned aircraft and, last and most effective of all the new weapons, the atomic bomb, which has a potent destructive ability beyond the wildest nightmares of human imagination.

Now, that weapon, the atomic bomb, was not produced as the result of the imagination of some devilish maniac, but it was produced after years of study of scientists who were working in the interests of their own country in order that they might bring victory to the United Nations, or at least shorten the war.

The principles of a terrifying energy from matter were well known to scientists before the war and many processes were explored during the early stages of the war. Finally, they decided to concentrate their efforts upon one particular process and that process proved successful in the early months of this summer when used against Japan. But it doesn't follow that the other processes which were discarded temporarily may not also be developed. It is quite conceivable that totally different methods of converting matter into energy may be discovered and when one pauses to think that at the present time the energy released from uranium is only to the utilization of one-tenth of one per cent of the bulk of the matter employed, one hesitates to think of the effect. It is impossible for us to conceive the effect of some other process being developed which might utilize even five per cent of the energy that might be developed from th bulk of the matter used from some other material.

Now, these inventions that I have mentioned have, as I said, been the work of scientists who have been mobilized during the past five years and have carried out their work at the front, in laboratories, in factories, and in shops and in universities, and they have been directing their efforts mainly to the development of a limited number of weapons and equipment on a relatively narrow project, but they have accumulated a vast amount of experience in the course of their studies.

I do suggest that if we have the real interests of the security of the world at heart that the broad dissemination of information is really a sounder foundation for the security of the future than any policy of restriction in the hope that other nations will not be able to acquire the same information or simlar information to what our scientists have acquired, because there are innumerable cases in which there has been independent discovery of the same truth and much of the matter which we now hold is jointly held by other nations.

But I do feel that it is most desirable that there should be no interruption in the relationships which have existed between the scientists and the military experts during this war and that research on military problems must continue. We must not delay until the decision has been reached regarding the actual pattern of the postwar formations that we intend to have for our armed forces.

However, soldiers, sailors and airmen cannot be expected to be experts in all fields. Research as far as improvement of existing arms and equipment should, I think, rightly be left in the hands of the military scientists, but when it comes to a question of long range research, working upon the application of the newest scientific discoveries to the needs of the armed forces, then I believe that that should be left in the hands of the civilian scientists who are better equipped for that particular work and who are employed in the universities and in industry. Both kinds, that is the experts with regard to existing equipment and the long range experts, should work in close liaison now and it should continue right from the very present time on.

I have referred to these new inventions. Whether it is possible to find an answer to these all powerful offensive weapons at the moment, I do not know, but there is an answer which we must explore and that is the prevention of wars in the future, and I am quite certain that I am voicing the opinion of everybody in this room, of every citizen of Canada, that those who are employed in the task of trying to find a formula which will prevent wars of the future have our earnest prayers for their success.

This spring the United Nations representatives met at San Francisco, with the idea of exploring the first steps which were to be taken with the idea of finding a means of preventing wars of the future. I think their approach was quite different to that which was used when the Delegates attended the conference of the League of Nations which was assembled immediately after the last war. The idealism of those days has been sadly tempered in the last few months by fear and by realism.

While I wish every success to this new organization, we must face the fact that at present it is immature and that some say it has been stillborn, by the proof of the effectiveness of the atomic bomb which had not been launched, you will remember, when the delegates assembled at San Francisco.

But if there is one thing which we all realize at the present time, it is that the great powers of this world must co-operate in a manner which is devoid of all shame. If there is doubt and uncertainty, no real co-operation, we shall only find one or other of those great powers will be forced into launching perhaps what we might call World War III. And those great powers are the only powers which are capable of launching such a war within the next decade.

I believe that the Conference which has been recently held between President Truman, Mr. Atlee and Mr. MacKenzie King, endeavoured to solve this problem of co-operation, honest co-operation, between Great Britain, the United States and Russia, and the problem that they had to solve was whether they would make an all-out gesture of friendship to Russia or whether they would let Russia paddle her own canoe. And they have turned over to, shall we call it, the San Francisco Conference, the Conference of the United Nations, the first real problem that that conference has had to settle and that is what is to be done regarding the atomic bomb?

I had thought of reading to you the paper which was prepared by those three statesmen, but I am afraid that times does not permit, and I should suggest that you study it if you have the opportunity, in your leisure.

I want to hurry on to the position of this Dominion of Canada of ours at the present time. I am afraid that the stark fact remains that if those great powers are the only powers which are capable of launching the world into World War III, either by their individual action or by getting some lesser states to co-operate with one of them who will not agree to the decisions reached by the majority, that Canada would then become the Belgium or the Poland of World War III.

You may think of any combination of those powers that you like and I am afraid that you are forced to that inevitable conclusion, that if World War III came within the next decade that the decisions of that war would be fought out on Canadian territory.

Therefore, from the point of view of self-interest, and the point of view of fear, we are prompted to direct our efforts to the prevention of war just as much as we are prompted to do so from the higher ideals which we hold.

What might be the nature of such a catastrophe if it ever came? Judging from the experience of the last twelve months I think we might say that the invasion would be launched by air and quite possibly the first attack would be carried out with a very great weight of bombs of the most destructive nature and that this attack would be begun in the utmost secrecy, that it would be followed very quickly by air-borne troops in order to cinch the action taken by the bombers.

I therefore suggest that when we are considering the defence forces of Canada for the future that our problem has been completely transformed from what it was in the days before this war. As long as I have been connected with the Armed Forces of Canada we have thought in terms of sending an expeditionary force away from our shores in order to help the Empire in one of her battles. You have only got to think of the South African War, the First Great War, and the Expeditionary Force that we sent overseas in 1939 and 1940.

Thanks to our extremely friendly relations with the United States, thanks to the wide oceans which have washed our shores on the east and the west, we have been able to live in comparative immunity from attack, and all the defences that Canada needed were a few obsolete fortresses at Halifax and at Esquimault in British Columbia, in order to guard the dry docks and to give safe assembly points for the forces which we were sending overseas or the convoys which were to supply those forces and the forces of the Empire.

That happy condition has changed. The oceans exist no longer as far as warfare is concerned. We are no longer protected by two oceans, the Atlantic and the Pacific, but we are faced with three isolated approaches upon which it is extremely difficult to get early information, namely, the Atlantic, the Pacific and our third ocean, the Arctic Ocean. They are no longer protections, but they are secretive approaches for a hostile enemy.

The problem is entirely new and I feel that we have got to reorientate all our ideas of the past and we have got to approach this new problem with flexible ideas and with a very open mind and that we have to call in to this system all those who are charged with the responsibility of protecting this country, the best brains from industry and professional and the university life of Canada. We can no longer think in terms of units parading through the streets of our cities, headed by brass bands. We have got to be realistic in this matter, and while there may be and while there is value in tradition, we cannot adhere to the time-worn formation of the past which were devised for an entirely different problem to the one with which we are faced at the present moment.

I would suggest that the very first thing we have to consider is an effective, intelligent service which would give us warning of the designs of a seemingly friendly country and the assembly of her air fleet. Then we must carry out an unremitting research as to the devices which will make surprise less likely.

We were rather pleased with the radar development during this war. We boasted that our radar would be able to pick up a squadron of enemy aircraft 200 miles away. What is 200 miles with aircraft now flying at the speed of over 400 miles an hour?

We have got to extend the range of effectiveness of the radar equipment, not to 200 miles, but to a thousand miles. We have got to devise means of intercepting the enemy, the counter bombardment research, you might call it, so that the bombers cannot get through, so that the bombers may be destroyed, if possible, over the ocean and then we shall have to concentrate, I think our defence forces around the known points of our industry and the important centers of our population, and those defence forces will have to consider the defence of the locality in which they are quartered or stationed and remember that the first attack is almost certain to come from the air.

So you may find that some of your historic Ontario Infantry Battalions might be well advised to take over an anti-aircraft role, with the idea of protecting Toronto, rather than with the idea of going on some expedition far away.

I believe that another point in our defence schemes of the future will have to be that of what was known in this war as civil defence, and there may have to be study carried out by all kinds of organizations along the lines which were carried out by the Civil Defence organizations throughout the Dominion during this war.

Then, because this danger may approach us from unexpected directions, probably not following the channels of population, I think that those forces of Canada which are permanently enrolled, the Permanent Force, will have to be on the frontiers of Canada. They may be up in the Arctic, or they may be on the extreme eastern coast or the extreme western coast, in order that they may be at the ready, in order to give early warnings so that the civilian forces, usually referred to before the war as the Militia, may have time to assemble in order to prepare for the defence of their own cities.

And you may have to give up in the future thoughts of the Musical Ride by the Royal Canadian Dragoons at your Royal Winter Show, and you may find that those men will have to be stationed in more isolated quarters.

So far as plans have been developed, at the present time the indication is that the Permanent Navy will consist of 10,000 men, with a small fleet of cruisers and an aircraft carrier and a few destroyers on both coasts; that the Permanent Air Force will consist of some 15,000 to 20,000 men, divided up among some ten Squadrons; that the future Permanent Army of Canada is to consist of some 20,000 to 25,000 men. We have a Brigade group more or less acting as a field force.

That means that Canada is going to be asked by the present administration to provide standing defence forces, regularly employed, of some 40,000 to 55,000 men, but the present administration has given no indication other than to say they will be given good rates of pay, no indication as to how that number of men are again to be found in Canada, and it is well to face up to the fact that when this war broke out the Permanent Force, the army of Canada consisted of less than 5,000 Officers and men, and if you are going to enlarge that over night to 20,000 or 25,000 men, then I think there is careful consideration has got to be employed as to how you are actually going to get the numbers that you say that you require.

I don't think there will be great difficulty regarding getting the numbers for the Permanent Air Force and perhaps a Permanent Navy. Those Services are more attractive, perhaps, than the service in the army in time of peace. I do believe that very serious consideration will have to be given by the Government if they are sincere and wholehearted in their proposal that there should be a Permanent Army of 20,000 to 25,000 men. They will have to consider how they are going to raise that force. Whether they can do that entirely by voluntary nature or not, I don't know, but whatever the Permanent Force may be in the future, I do urge most strongly that it be linked very, very closely with the economic and industrial and professional life of this country. The doctors that work in the hospitals, the engineers that go out on construction work, the signallers that work in the communications companies, because the great drawback of the Permanent Force at the outbreak of this war was the fact it had lived the life of a hermit. It had been cloistered and was entirely removed from the industrial and professional life of the country and that was bad for the Armed Forces, it was extremely bad for the Permanent Force, and if the Permanent Force of the future is to play its proper role in the future defence of Canada, then it has got to be brought into the closest contact with the life of the country, because the defences of Canada cannot be separated from the life of Canada. It is the very life of Canada that the defences are defending and the people who are connected with the economic situation in Canada will have to take a very definite interest in the protection of their interests.

Now, I think my time is just up and I will therefore close by saying that while I have perhaps suggested thoughts which are unpleasant that we have got to face up to the realities of the situation, and that I join with every one in this room in fervently praying that the forebodings that I have suggested never occur, and that a solution will be found to the age old problem of trying to find some other way of settling international differences, than by exposing the lives of our finest and youngest citizens.

"U. N. R. R. A. REPORTS ON EUROPE"

An Address By

MR. GEORGE S. MOONEY

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, December 6, 1945

Mr. Thompson: Controller Balfour, Guests, Members of the Toronto Board of Trade, and Empire Club of Canada, we have as our guest of honour today, the Chief Executive Officer for Europe of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which organization is more prominently known as UNRRA.

Our guest speaker has recently completed an extensive trip through Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Italy and the Balkans, as well as the Middle East. So that the Canadian public may be informed of the essential facts underlying the present European outlook, he will today present to us the picture as he sees it and one in which I am sure we are all vitally interested.

A native of Toronto, he was educated in Montreal and has, since his graduation from McGill University, been almost continuously in public service in various capacities, holding such positions as Director of Research of the Canadian Committee on Co-operative Movements; Director of the Department of Planning and Research of the Montreal Metropolitan Commission; co-Director of the Montreal Industrial and Economic Bureau; Consultant to the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities as well as a Director of that organization.

During the war period he acted as economic consultant of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board and in 1944, he left Canada to take up his post with UNRRA. With his experience in public affairs, he is the ideal man for the present position and it is with extreme pleasure that I present to you, Mr. George S. Mooney, who will talk to us on the subject "UNRRA Reports on Europe".

Mr. George S. Mooney: Mr. Chairman, Members of the Empire Club and The Board of Trade, I want to take you with me across Europe from the Baltic on the north to the Black Sea on the south, and Poland in the east and northwest Europe, and try to paint for you in the next 40 minutes a word picture of what the situation is, and what the situation promises. Come with me first of all to Northwest Europe, to France, to Belgium, to Luxemburg and to Holland. The situation in France is substantially different from that of last winter and this spring. France had its grim winter last winter. In the subsequent months the French authorities have laid on a procurement program of supplies and the evidence would seem to suggest that on the whole France will come through this winter not too badly. Not too badly, comparatively speaking, not too badly. Its civilian population will be on a food intake of about 2,200 calories a day; that isn't high, the Army set as its standard, to prevent disease and unrest, for the civilian population 2,000 calories a day, so France will be just above that level. There is still considerable clearing away to be done, particularly on the land in France before large sections of the French soil can come back into agricultural use again. I wonder if you know that there are still 100 million mines in the soil of France to be taken off, and out, before vast sections of that land can be made safe for agricultural production. How many hundreds of millions of other mines there are throughout the continent of Europe, I don't know, but France is indicative of probably the extent to which mines have been sown elsewhere on the continent.

I wonder, too, if you know that in France there are 10,000 bridges down; how many thousands of bridges elsewhere are down in Europe, I don't know, but very few are up. Those are the kind of reconstruction problems which face the French people. In Paris, of course, superficially, it has resumed much of its pre-war normalcy. It has again become Gay Paree. There appears to be a considerable amount of supplies in the stores of Paris, at least in that part of Paris that you, as a visitor, would see, however, the goods in those stores are pretty highly inflated in price. And most Frenchmen and most Parisianers haven't got the kind of money that inflated goods are selling at on the Paris market, whether it be on the legal market or on the black market of Paris, and indeed if it is on the black market, of course only a fractional few of the population can afford those kind of prices. France will be cold this winter, but then all Europe will be cold this winter, there is no coal in Europe for domestic heating, there is all too little for stoking the furnaces of industrial plants. There is all too little other fuel for the heating of homes. Europe will suffer this winter with the cold of winter. Winter caught Europe pretty early in its grip, and the promises are that it will be a long winter as well as a cold and hungry winter for millions and millions of Europeans. Yet France, comparative to other parts of Europe, as I so briefly indicate, is not facing too grim a time.

The situation in Belgium is not dissimilar to that of France. In the south where the Ardenne steals over from Luxemburg, considerable devastation up towards and around Liege, the port cities of Ostend and so on, badly battered at the port front but the amount of physical devastation in Belgium is not comparable to that suffered in the last war. Belgium has its own coal mines, the coal mines of Belgium are relatively near to important industrial plants, and this finds a reflection in the fact that there is industrial production going on in Belgium. The glass industry is resuming itself, the leather industry, having difficulty in getting hides, but are putting out a great number of canvas top shoes with wooden soles, they can be used. The steel industry beginning in a small way to resume itself in Belgium. Economically speaking I would say that perhaps Belgium presents the healthiest economic outlook for the moment of all European countries. Employment is on the up, true it is not gaining in great momentum, but it is steadily increasing. At the close of the last war Belgium was the first of the European countries to recover and it is probably going to repeat that performance at the close of this war.

In Luxemborg you get thrown into bold relief one of the paradoxes and one of the difficulties of the restoration of normal economic life throughout Europe. I went down to south Luxemborg not so many weeks ago with Premier Dupong to visit the steel industry scattered in about 20 or 30 towns and villages in South Luxemborg.

Here they are—their smoke stacks are smokeless. Here is an industrial plant completely idle. The entire economic life of Luxemborg is based on that single industry. There is a relatively small leather industry, a tanning industry in the north of Luxemborg, but it employs four or five thousand people only. The great mass of industrial labor in Luxemborg is employed in its steel mills. When the Germans walked out of Luxemborg last October, they left intact that huge industry, they didn't demolish a plant, they didn't take out a machine, they confidently expected that within a matter of a relatively short while they would be back; they knew full well that they would need the output of the steel from the steel industry of Luxemborg. On our part we didn't bomb Luxemborg, South Luxemborg, not a bomb fell over that part of Europe. No fighting waged in that territory, we ourselves knew that once liberation came to Europe we, too, would need the steel from that industry of Luxemborg, the 7th greatest steel producing country in the world, the Arvid Co., after the Bethleham steel works, the second largest steel company in the world with 35,000 employees in its mills alone. We knew we'd need that steel to reconstruct the thousands of bridges that I told you are down, to build and renew the railway inland transportation system of Europe which is completely almost destroyed. Hundreds of thousands of miles of steel rails torn and twisted in the fields. Locomotives, rolling stock, we knew we'd need it to rebuild factories and office buildings, and all the other things that steel is needed for, we occupied Luxemborg after the Germans left there in late October, early November, and safe for

2,000 employees of the Arvid Co., out of its total of 35,000 working at two blast furnaces, that have 276, save for those two blast furnaces, that whole industry is lying idle. Steel that could be produced is not being produced—why? Two hundred and fifty miles away, as the crow flies, is the rich coal mines of the Ruhr, it was from there that Luxemborg got its coal, from the coke ovens of the Ruhr. We're not able to move that coal and that coke from the Ruhr, 250 miles because don't you see the very bridges we want to repair are down. We can't move that coal and that coke to get that vast industry working again. A year has gone by, that industry lies idle. That is just one of the many paradoxes and the dilemmas confronting those who are engaged in the task of rehabilitation, reconstruction of devastated Europe.

In Holland, the outlook is much grimer than that for other parts of Northwest Europe. Here is a country which has paid a very bitter pill for its effective resistance to the enemy. During the years of Nazi occupation, during particularly the last six months of German occupation, the Dutch came through some very grim months. All of Northeast Holland, that rich agricultural soil of Holland reclaimed from the North Sea, after years of patient arduous toil, that vast engineering undertaking the dykes of Northeast Holland, reached by the Germans letting in the flooded waters of the North Sea spread over hundreds of thousands of acres. I'm glad to report to you that as of about this time, the last hole in the dykes will be bridged, the North Sea will be back again where it was, but there still remains the task of pumping out those millions of gallons of briny salt water from off the soil of Northeast Holland. I'm glad to report, too, that the estimate was originally that it would take 7 years but that task has now been narrowed to 5 years. But it will be 5 years yet before the tulip bulbs will grow once again in Northeast Holland. Before the Dutch dairy herds can graze on the rich luscious grass, of Northeast Holland, indeed if it will be possible in 5 years to re-claim that lost dairy herds of Northeast Holland. That isn't the only physical loss that Holland has experienced consequent upon the war. All of Southwest Holland, as some of you folks in this room probably know, in and around Nimogen and Arnhem there is where you see a scarred, battered countryside. Villages down, farm houses in rubbles, the railway system twisted and torn, all the copper and wire taken from the electrified railways of Holland by the Germans in their last defeating days. That's how Holland has experienced the full bitter blow of modern warfare. Not only there, in the cities, in Amsterdam, in Rotterdam, that mile square almost that last November we pin-pointed and bombed out because it was the heart of the heart of the Gestapo and the Nazi storm troopers in Rotterdam, now lies humbled and in ruins, and The Haig, and The Hook, the cities of Holland have experienced a pretty bitter battering up. But it isn't that that is worrying the Dutch so very much. I parked my car outside the British Officers' Mess at The Haig some weeks ago, and as I was going into the door, the entrance to the Mess, a military policeman came rushing after me, he said "Sir, you've left your car unlocked". I said "I know all about it, officer". He said "Sir, you've left your car unlocked, you had better come back and lock it." I said "I'm only going to be a minute or two." Well he argued with me and I with him, probably we argued two or three minutes at the most and finally to satisfy him I walked back and locked my car. The damage had been done; my tobacco pouch was gone. Petty thievery everywhere, why petty thievery? Why is it you can't leave anything loose around in Holland, Here is a country which before the war its Civil Service were regarded as comparable only to that of the British Civil Service in their standards and conduct. If you dare offer a cigaret to a Dutch civil servant lest that might have been regarded as an attempt to bribe him, or influence his judgment. Today you daren't ask him to do anything for you unless you are prepared to give more than cigarets. What has happened to the Dutch population? Not only the population of Holland, I'm only using now Holland as an example, but what has happened to our Europe that those kind of standards have come down shattering along with the physical shattering of Europe. You talk to a Dutchman, an older person, and they'll shake their heads. Then, of course, the story will become apparent if you think about it more. For five long years we told the youth of Holland we'd kill them, we'd train them in the arts of deceit, and cunning, and thievery, yes, indeed, it is necessary to kill, the resistance movement, the youth movement of the continent. In the name of high patriotism, and indeed it was a patriotic thing to do, to offer every kind of resistance to the enemy, to go up and down the highways and the byways of Holland you see little crosses on the village streets and by the side of the road, three and four of them together sometimes only one, no, they are not the graves of Canadian soldiers or British soldiers, our Canadian dead and British dead are now in their military cemeteries. They're the little white crosses marking the spot where one or two, or three or four Dutch youths, boys and girls, literally, caught by the Germans either in the act or suspected of some act of sabotage. They weren't given the niceties of a Nuremberg trial, and all the legalties of high jurisprudence; they were shot on the spot, and there they lie buried, with a little white cross to mark their last resting place. Well, if you train a youth that way don't you see, if that is what you expect of your youth during a period of occupation by the kind of an enemy that occupied Holland and other countries, if in the name of patriotism the best of your youth are urged to go out and lie and steal, and be cunning and deceitful and to kill, then the simple fact that war has come to an end doesn't change that kind of action. It is going to take a longer time to rehabilitate the morale and the morality of this generations of Europe's youth than it will be to rehabilitate and reconstruct their cities and towns, and devastated physical plants. Come with me to Poland—I want to take you to a country that is scarred and scorched and burned and black-out and devastated from one end to the other, across its long width and breadth—Poland, is devastated. In Warsaw, a city which is in almost complete ruins, we find pockets here and there where people have been able to burrow in and clear away some place to live, but by and large Warsaw is down, in Warsaw, take its Jewish population, of its prewar population of 250,000 Jews, 5,000 are alive. Of its total pre-war population of Jews for all Poland of three and a half million, 80,000 are left. There are 10,000 deaths a month these months in Warsaw from TB, pardon me, that's the figure for all Poland, from TB. You've heard about the million deaths, or the million cases of venereal disease in Poland. That isn't only indicative of Poland, that's a universal phenomena on the continent. A phenomena, of course it is not a phenomena, that is what war does. That too is one of the costs of war but not only TB and VD but Scabby. Incipient outbreaks of Typhus and Diphtheria. I'm glad to see in this afternoon's paper, which I just read before coming that Dr. Topping, our European director of health reassures us that no serious outbreaks epidemics of disease are contemplated this winter for Europe. But I know Dr. Topping, I know he's given that as a note of reassurance but behind his back he's got his fingers crossed. I saw Dr. Topping in Athens, not so many weeks ago, and we had a long chat together. We talked together about the 100,000 bodies still in the ruins of Warsaw, of the untold thousands still in the rubble of Berlin, of the 40,000 in the rubble of Kassel of how many other thousands in the rubble of other European cities, I don't know:—Kindly winter has cast a mantle of white disposing of that situation probably for the winter, but the rats are in there, and spring will come. Spring thaws might well be the beginning of a serious health situation to say the least in Europe. So far we've been able to contain typhus, the great international disease,—and cholera, and the plague has not broken out in any wide way, thanks to medical science, thanks to this marvelous new powder, DDT, not the DT's but DDT's. We've literally DDT'd Europe from one end to the other by plane and by hand spray, those kind of contributions of modern medical science have kept in check, without a doubt, the spread of disease, but the medical men on the staff of UNRRA and those medical men who have seen the European situation, are holding their fingers crossed. Poland, not only disease, not only lack of clothing—when we went in to Poland on the basis of an early summary estimate, our summary was that 80% of the Poles were statistically naked. And what do I mean by statistically naked. I mean that they had no replaceable clothes. The clothes they possessed were the clothes they had on their back, and in thousands and thousands of instances, in most instances, those clothes were already pretty shoddy, and worn. Thanks to the Canadian clothing drive, and to a similar clothing drive in the United States, we're in process of shipping over, we've already shipped over 100,000,000 pounds of used clothing from the United States and Canada to the needy spots of Europe. But all of the clothing you conceivably could give, would hardly be adequate to clothe all the needy bodies of Europe's ragged, poorly clothed population. There are still 5,000,000 Poles out of a total population of 23,000,000 unhoused, bombed out. Hundreds of thousands of them building little lean-tos, out of the rubble of their devastated cities. Bricks and stones and what other building material they can put their fingers on, for cement, well of course they don't use cement, they use mud. Primitive housing, thousands living in caves, thousands in trenches, more or less, and are living like animals in the ground this winter. I said about France, and it is true about Poland and elsewhere no coal, for heating. It is going to be a pretty grim winter, for the people of Poland. We've been able to bring their daily intake of food up to around 2,000 calories, just at that level which the army says is the dead minimum to prevent disease and unrest. We're hoping to be able to hold it there, we'll probably not be able to increase it. It had been our hope that we could bring all of liberated Europe within 6 months liberation, to 2,650 calories a day, we'll not do it, we'll not be able to do it. Here in

Canada you are consuming about 3,450 calories per day per person. In Poland it will be about 2,000 calories, elsewhere in Europe, as I shall presently tell you, it will be much, much less than that.

Come with me to Yugoslavia—here is a country that like Poland is badly devastated. Of course you can't devastate those mountains of Yugoslavia, they'll remain there even in spite of atomic bombs, if we have to ever resort to that, but those villages in the valleys of Yugoslavia, more than 3,000 of them burned out, and I mean burned out—every house, every stable, the church, the school, the local town hall, in rubbles completely burned out. Not always burned out by the Germans, nor during the period that the Italians were nearby—in the hundreds of instances, probably more, those villages that you see burned out, in Northern Yugoslavia, were burned out by the Yugoslavians themselves. If any people practiced literally the scorched earth policy on themselves, then indeed the Yugoslavs practiced that policy. It takes a lot of courage, my friends, to burn your own house; to destroy your own town, to polute your own wells, to poison your own cattle, those that you can't take with you so that they won't fall into the hands, or be of use to the enemy. It takes a lot of courage to do that sort of thing. Yugoslavia's 12,000,000 population in 1939, 2,000,000 were killed during the 5 years of war. Relate that to Canada, if you please. There are 800,000 orphans in Yugoslavia, relate that to Canada, if you please. These are some of the costs of war.

Come with me to Greece—here is a country, too, like Yugoslavia and Poland is scorched, burned out. A country that was peculiarly the vindictive butt of the Nazis during their period of occupation. Indeed if it had not been for wheat shipments, largely from Canada, during the years 1942 and 1943, sent off to the Swiss Relief Commission, the plight of the Greeks would have been truly a desperate one. As it was when Scobie walked in there last October, there was mass starvation. In the year that he has had to try to restore some normal health, with the people of Greece we've made considerable progress, but the country is still torn economically politically. The financial structure of the country is very wobbly to say the least. We've stabilized the drachma at 300 to the U. S. dollar last November, it takes about 3,500 drachma to buy that same U. S. dollar today, as a consequence there's no durable goods for sale, a merchant wouldn't sell you a watch, or an ink well, and take your drachma, he'd sooner hold on to that watch or that ink well, and not only the watch or the ink well, but he won't ship into the market if he's a peasant farmer, even from the modest harvest they'v had, nature has been very unkind to the Balkans and Eastern Central Europe this past season; crops have been a failure right and left. 30% of the olive oil crop of Greece, 40% of its wheat crop, less than 40% of its rice crop, when you get that kind of a situation, a poor harvest, and one that currency, the drachma has no continuing value; you've got a durable agricultural product like olive oil, or wheat, or rice; it takes a lot of persuasion, doesn't it, to get farmers to part with their good, durable food, so that it has made the problem of relief in Greece that much more difficult, politically, the country is still torn between the factions of the right and the factions of the left. That, too, is part of the price of war.

Come with me to Italy. Here is an ex-enemy country, from the toe—right up and in Northern Italy, that country is scorched, some of the war's bitterest fighting went on as you know in South Italy, and in the mountain area of North Italy. Those of you who were there will know about Route 65, and Route 67. And you will affirm what I say when I tell you about the villages, the hundreds of them, burned out—that country is badly battered. UNRRA is doing a partial program in Italy, feeding about 2,000,000 school children a day; we have a program for pregnant and expectant mothers and nursing mothers. Food and special nursing care for old and sick, but the adult population of Italy are not UNRRA's charge. There is great scarcity of food and clothing, and medical supplies, and other needs for the Italian population.

Come with me quickly because time presses, to Austria,—here again you get a situation, a country badly battered, probably not as bad, certainly not as badly battered as Germany, all the Western Germany is flat, torn—it is fair to say 100% burned out—rubble cities—flat, even the cathedral I'm afraid will have to come down. Army engineers are not sure they can hold the walls, but it stands there still as a grim symbol over the city of once large metropolitan city of 980,000 in 1939. It had 237,000 housing units and this figure is easy to remember, 237,000 housing units in pre-war Cologne. You know how many habitable housing units there are in Cologne today—237—the city is burned out—what is true of Cologne, is true in part, less probably because Cologne is the most completely devastated of German cities. But it is true in degree, 70, 75, 80 percent of Manheim, and Frankford and Dusseldorf, and Ulm and Kessel and Bingen, fair Bingen on the Rhine, you remember it—"For I was born at Bingen, fair Bingen on the Rhine". Bingen is no longer fair, it too is a burned out German city. That is not so true of Austrian cities. Vienna—probably 40% battered up, more by shell fire, practically all by shell fire and street fighting. East of the Danube the worst devastation, those of you who knew Vienna, gay Vienna, well Vienna is no longer gay—Vienna is a pretty sad city, in fact I think it is the saddest of all European cities—it is sad not only because physically it has had a bad battering, it is sad not only because its people today are starving, dying, in Vienna. Living on about 900 calories a day now, since liberation, that's 500 calories a day less than a nutritionist will tell you is needed to maintain life over a long period of time in a human body. Not only because of its starvino people, not only because there is no electricity, no gas, no heat, no utilities, no running water—its sewer system blasted to pieces—not only because of that, but sad because the Vienese were not essentially a Nazi people. They were among the most progressive, forward looking social thinking people of all Europe. They were sold down the river by Seyss-Inquhart, the little group of high scheming Nazis in Austria. You read the story in your newspaper, I don't have to affirm that fact, but they found themselves against their will involuntarily brought into this vortex of Nazism—down the river they went—they are paying the same price, they bear the mark of the German, not because they wished to, but because it was forced on them, spiritually it is a very sad sight. To go back in retrospect and know what Vienna stood for and to see the price its people are paying today consequent upon the experience forced upon them, to a great extent.

Come with me briefly to Germany—I don't want to raise any thoughts, or any sympathy in your minds whatsoever—Germany asked for what she got, and she got it fully. If ever a country physically has paid a complete bitter price for what she brought on the world, Germany has paid that. Her cities, her physical plant are in ruins. Her people—there are two kinds of Germans today, those who are being looked over in prisoner of war camps or in political camps, and those who are not in cages. The manpower of Germany for the most part, these former fighting Nazis, and SS Troopers and the high scheming Nazi politicals; they are being fed, according to the Geneva Convention we must feed them, at the standards of the holding power, and if those prisoners of war in the American zone in Germany or if they are in the British tone, they are being very well fed. Here in Canada you have 100,000 working on the farms,—there are 700,000 in the U. S. In Britain there's slightly over a million and in France there are about a million, in Belgium we've got 50,000 working in the coal mines, how many there are in Russia I don't know, but by and large the best-off Germans this winter are those prisoners of war and those politicals, and the worst-off Germans are the women and children. By a million refugees bombed out, these bombed out families from Cologne, the 980,000 population of Cologne, about 100,000 have come back, built rubble shacks in the ruins, but the others are out somewhere—the women and children are paying the bitterest price, for the infamy of a Hitler and a Goering and a Hess, and Goebbels.

I want to take you to Britain—people have asked me is it true that the British people are going to have a more difficult winter than the people on the continent. Of course it is not true. British people are going to have more food than the Poles, French, Greeks, Austrians, Germans. The point you want to remember when you ask that kind of a question is this—That there has been no change in the British situation. This isn't the first winter, nor the second, nor the third, nor the fourth, nor the fifth, but the sixth long winter of lean rations—of monotonous food, of dry eggs and dried milk and razor pieces of bacon and little hunks of cheese literally. The clothing—we sent clothing off—I don't suppose the British people would take probably too well to our sending over cast-off clothing, I wouldn't know. But it is no disgrace for a British businessman to go down to the city with leather in his elbows and his worn out suit and leather-trimmed cuffs and frayed cloths. I went to a wedding not so long ago, and I was quite intrigued with the very nice dress that the bride's mother had on, so I took her aside and I said "Whose your black marketeer" and she brought me into the living room, and she showed me her black marketeer, the one inch remaining of the living-room curtains cut up to make a dress that looked so nice. It is that kind of thing that does something to you when you get to Britain and live with the British people. I remember last December, Dalton, Hugh Dalton was then President of the Board of Trade—he announced a Chrismas bonus for every British household, a Christmas cake. 5 pounds of sugar, some sugared fruits, and some raisins, the wherewithal to make a Christmas cake for every British family, and just at that time out of Normandy were coming the distressful stories of bombed out families of Normandy—without homes, hungry, in that grim early winter of last year—that grim winter that France went through—just at that time. Do you think when Dalton announced this bonus for the Christmas for the

British families that the following morning that the women of Britain were down at the green grocery shop saying "Give me my 5 pounds of sugar, let me have my iced fruits and my raisins". No, they weren't down at the green grocers; do you know where they were—one of the largest demonstrations all last winter in front of the House of Commons was the women of London who went down there with placards saying to Hugh Dalton—give that food to the French—they need it more than we do—and in 72 hours following letters to the press and so on, Hugh Dalton had to get up and rescind that order. That's the kind of thing that happened among these illogical British—you know they are illogical, they just don't do anything normally. It is amazing that they get along as well as they do. What would you do with people like that? They just don't belong in our kind of community, but that's the way the British people seem to do things. It was the famous American Ralph Waldo Emerson, 50 years ago he said—"About Britain, I see her not dispirited, not weak, but well remembering that she has seen dark days before, indeed with a kind of instinct that she sees a little better in a cloudy day, that in storm and battle and calamity, she has a secret vigour and a pulse like cannon. I see her in old age, not decrepit but young, and still daring to believe in her power of endurance and expansion, "Seeing this I say ,'All Hail, Mother of Nations, Mother of Heroes with strength still equal to the time." Britain still has strength equal to the times.

Financially broke, her markets scattered, I know the present feeling that probably there is among some members of the business community here in this country with respect to the necessities of certain business limitations placed upon the movement of Canadian supplies, my friends, I can only say to you, be patient for awhile, Britain has come through some very tough times, she is going to need our help; we've got to stand by, Britain with strength still equal to the times. Gentlemen, this is an all too hurried picture of the state of affairs on the continent. It is going to be a grim, bleak, cold, desperate, difficult winter on the continent of Europe. I said to the members of the House of Commons in the Senate yesterday in Ottawaa that Europe again is at the cross-roads of hope and despair—hope that from her western allies, the democracies, particularly from these food surplus producing countries like Canada and the United States, that during this particular period when Europe needs so desperately a breathing spell. Europe you see has had a pretty tough sickness, she's had a pretty difficult time, she needs a period of recuperation—it will take a little while to get those fields back in shape producing food stuffs again—it will take a long while to recapture her slaughtered cattle; it will take a longer while to rebuild her cities and towns. It will take a little while yet to get her economies back into normal movement whereby normal trade and commerce can ensue as between this side of the water and the continent. In the meanwhile, we've got to stand by—stand by so that her hope and faith in us will be sustained. Those promises we made her during the years of occupation of their occupied liberty that in the wake of our armies would come the armies of relief; we've got to make that promise good—we've got to stand by those Yugoslavians who burned their own towns. We must remember those 2,000,000 dead, those 800,000 orphans, and the figures I could give from Poland and elsewhere would equally be convincing. Out of sheer gratitude alone we owe a debt to these people of Europe, moreover, we owe to them out of the sense of Christian decency of common humanity, if you want to put it that way. We are our brother's keeper don't you see. We are particularly in an atomic bomb world our brother's keeper. If Europe goes on the skids as I warned yesterday, she might well do, if the pipe line of relief supply should be discontinued as it threatens to be unless funds additional are forthcoming. Then who is to say that we, not too far distant from now, might become once again engulfed. Perhaps engulfed isn't the word when one thinks of atomic bombs purely in the hope that we can preserve peace—in the hope that this war has brought modern wars to an end, in the hope that we can rebuild a shattered world, we ought to stand by out of a sense of economic enlightenment, self-interest, if you want to put it that way. There can be no normal trade and commerce with many of the countries of Europe until its manpower is fit enough to go back and work on the farms, in the factories, and until some of its factories are restored to the point where they can produce.

Mr. Chairman, I apologize for over-stepping my time. Therein, as I said earlier, in all too brief cryptic form is the outlook—and the challenge of Europe in this winter and spring of 1945 and 1946.

"ST. GEORGE MEETS NEW DRAGONS"

AN ADDRESS BY

MR. C. R. SANDERSON, M.A., B.Sc.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, December 13, 1945

MR. THOMPSON: We welcome today, as our guest of honour, one who needs no introduction to an Empire Club audience, in that he is one of our Past Presidents. However, for the benefit of the large radio audience that is listening to this programme, I feel that I should say something about him.

Our guest speaker, who is a native of the Old Land, graduated from the University of London with first class honours and Bachelor of Science Degree. He received his Master of Arts degree from the University of Toronto.

He served with distinction in the first World War, having been wounded in France in 1916 and following his recovery served in the East Africa Campaign of 1917-1918. During World War 2, he has been very active in the Reserve Army, giving most generously of his time in the advancement of military training.

Following a number of years of library work in the United Kingdom, he came to this country in 1929, at the invitation of the Toronto Public Library Board, to join the staff as Deputy Chief Librarian and today holds the post of Chief Librarian.

A former member of the Council and Executive Board of the British Library Association, also, the Executive of the National Book Council of England, he was a member of the Canadian delegation of Book Sellers, sponsored by the Board of Trade, which has just returned from the United Kingdom, where they went in an effort to restore Canada's book market.

A keen observer at all times and a most delightful speaker, he has kindly consented to pass on to us some of the observations he made on his recent trip overseas.

It is with the greatest of pleasure that I now present to you, Mr. C. R. Sanderson who has chosen as the title of his address "St. George Meets New Dragons".

Mr. C. R. Sanderson: Mr. President, Gentlemen: After having been your President for a year, I feel it is particularly kind that you should be willing to tolerate me again as a speaker, and when to that I add the flattery of the large audience that has met today, all that I can say is that I am specially grateful for the honour that you have done me.

As the President has said, I was one of a delegation who went to England on a "Book Job." Owing to wartime Government restrictions in Britain, books deteriorated in their physical quality. Paper became poorer and thinner; the boards became spindlier and spindlier until they were not much more than very stiff brown paper; the type became smaller and smaller in order to make the paper go as far as it could. The result was that when such books did come to Canada from Britain, few people would buy them, and few people would read them even if they did not have to buy them. When we add to this the limitations of the size of editions in Britain, and the enormous home market there, the result was that the British book practically disappeared from the Canadian market.

To some of us that seemed a tragedy. Of all the exports that Britain can send to Canada none seemed more important than the thoughts which go into books.

The place of the British books here was filled largely by books from the States. But the situation did have one advantage: it gave a stimulus to Canadian book-production, and during the last few years we have had many more and much more important books published in Canada than in preceding years.

The result was our delegation to Britain had two jobs to do. To discuss with the British publishers what could be done to ensure the re-entry of the British book into the Canadian market; and on the other hand, to discuss what could be done to create a market for Canadian books in Britain. Both sides of this problem are important. When you remember, gentlemen, how often we are told that the ties which bind the Commonwealth together are intangibles, then surely the importation and exportation,—the mutual importation and exportation—of the thought that goes into books is one of the most significant of those intangibles.

We talked almost incessantly for three weeks, and it is confidently expected that the results on both sides of the problem will be most happy for both countries.

In talking today about England I will try and not say the same kind of thing that has been said by so many other people who have been over there, except just this one thing: it is worth-while to remind ourselves, even though we have heard it a hundred times, that you can't walk one hundred yards in London without seeing physical damage. And it is a sad commentary on human nature that after two weeks you become used to it. When you go to St. Paul's and see that wide swath of country a mile from north to south, where the destruction is complete except for St. Paul's itself and one office building, you can not help but be greatly impressed and even awed. But the thing that rips into your heart comes when you go down East, to Stepney, and Poplar, and East Ham where the dockers live, where the docks are. Perhaps you stand on a viaduct or some other elevation and look round. Where once there were masses of houses, long rows of those small houses "two up, two down", (two rooms up stairs and two rooms downstairs) there are big wide swaths of country with weeds growing. Then comes the consciousness of what real destruction can be. Thousands upon thousands of tiny homes, where people lived, and loved, and brought up children, and had their "hearth and home", have literally vanished.

In normal times that district, miles in extent, was teeming with people as busy as it could be. It was the throbbing heart of British commerce, of British existence.

The memory of those areas in normal times compared with their condition today prodded serious thoughts when the dock strike came. That strike kept us in London three weeks longer than we had planned. We were anxious and disturbed on our own account. Also I confess that I did not know the real rights and wrongs of the dockers' demands, nor of their wisdom or foolishness in striking against the advice of their own leaders. Nevertheless if the dockers are so important, so vitally important, to the welfare of Britain and even to the welfare of the world, and they are convinced that they must go on strike in a dire hour of their nation's need, it drove home Chesterton's saying, that "People never think of the working man except when he stops working." We had taken the dockers and their conditions of work for granted. We had viewed the desolation of the area where they had lived as a spectacle of the destruction of war. We had taken it for granted that they lived somewhere else and went on working. Perhaps our ideas of social justice need substantial readjustment.

Britain has taken all this destruction in her stride. The people don't talk much about the destruction or the bombing, except to make light of it. I have a brother over there nearly as old as I am. He had been a District Warden in the Air Raids Protection service just outside of Manchester. One evening when I was walking along a road with him he pointed to a mound and said, "That's where I slept for two years." I asked, "Why didn't you sleep at home?" He said, "I did at first, but when you have to crawl out of bed two or three or four times a night, and run to your Air Raid Post, it was really much easier to sleep out." I asked "Did you go to your work next day?" "Oh, certainly," he said. "Well, didn't it do something to you?" I asked. His answer was, "Oh, I suppose so, it made my pants baggy."

One day I was talking to a man named Tom Thompson, who writes first class short stories on Lancashire life for the "Manchester Guardian." He was telling me about a broadcast he was doing at Manchester during one of the Manchester blitzes, and his comment went something like this: "There I was, talking. I didn't know there was a raid on. Nobody told me. I just went on talking. I didn't know they had shut me off the air." Then when the raid was over he had to get to his home some ten miles away. He said, "No trains, no busses, no taxis. But the wife was waiting at home and I had to get there. So I started to walk. I picked up two soldiers, and we got out a couple of miles. Then "they" started again with the incendiary bombs, and as we went up the road they seemed to be running up behind us, just like trotting donkeys' legs." The three of them got under a railway bridge, and Thompson said the incendiaries seemed to cover the countryside, "just like buttercups and daisies all over the fields."

I don't know if I am conveying to you a picture of what I want to convey, of how the people of Britain make light of their wartime experiences, even make fun of them.

The town in which my mother lives had been damaged substantially. Actually every place big and little has had what they call its "dose." Part of this town had been destroyed during one particular night and my mother (she is only eighty-eight) went to have "a look." She told me there was a factory "down" and a row of houses "down," and all around for a big distance every house had its doors blown in or off, or its windows blown out. People were carrying their belongings out of their houses, and they were all black like chimney-sweeps because the concussion had filled the houses with soot from the chimneys. One woman was standing at the door of her house and my mother said to her, "Missis, I'm sorry for you. You had a bad time." Do you know what the reply was? The woman replied, "Aye, but it might have been worse. If this hadn't happened, I should have had to have my chimney swept."

There is the same attitude towards the shortages, though I do think that the British people are disappointed and perhaps a little bewildered that the shortages should be worse now than they were even during the war period. They tell a story something like this. A man was addressing an audience on the atomic bomb. He said, "If you took six atomic bombs and put them in six suit cases and planted them in six capitals of the world, you could disrupt civilization." A voice in the audience called out, "I say, Mister, where would you get the six suit cases from?"

Gentlemen, Britain today is a country of universal shortages, and as far as personal incoveniences through lack of commodities are concerned, we in this country do not even know that there has been a war. Actually in Britain today you can buy books. You can buy flowers, and flowers in the London flower shops have never been more beautiful than they are now though they are very expensive. You can go to the theatres, if you can get a seat. The "Old Vic" Company had not a seat of any kind at either an evening performance or matinee for five weeks ahead when we were there. You can go to restaurants. That's about all you can do with your money: books, flowers, theatres, and restaurants. And you can buy cheap jewellery at a high price. For the rest, there is nothing else that you can buy without coupons. Prices are high. A good measure which everybody can envisage is the little wooden coat-hanger, with a wire hook on the top. I saw them in a shop marked 5 shillings, say $1.25. That is a fair sample of prices.

I mentioned restaurants. Those people who can afford to have meals in hotels or restaurants are lucky in supplementing their meagre home rations. Restaurants can't charge more than 5 shills for any meal. But they have a table charge fixed by Government schedule, which varies —2s., 2/6, 5s. At "Claridge's"I think it was 6s. And by the time you pay the standard 5 shillings for the meal in a restaurant, your cover charge, and whatever else they add as an "extra" on the bill, you find that you have had a very indifferent meal which has cost you $4.

Apart from the few things I have mentioned, the impossibility of buying anything in England today except under a rigid rationing system through "coupons" makes one realize that in this world we are, in reality, merely tenants without any proprietary rights; that the mere possession of money gives one no priorities on the necessities of life.

Food, of course, is the worst scarcity. Clothes are bad. I think from September to June a man gets enough coupons to get himself a suit, provided he does not have a waistcoat. A lot of people wear sweaters. That sounds like a solution. But where do they get their sweaters? Where do they get the wool to make the sweaters? If he buys his suit (without a waistcoat) he can't during the same period buy socks, shirt, tie, underclothes. In fact not a single article of clothing. And he can't do what in fact he has to do, he can't subsidize his wife's coupons. The feminine demand for coupons is higher than the male demand, because out of the clothing coupons come the towels for the kitchen, or the bit of chintz to make a cushion cover. Anything and everything in the textile line comes out of those clothing coupons.

The most urgent problem is food. We ourselves were lucky because we were living in hotels. For breakfast we had scrambled eggs made out of powdered eggs. That was excellent the first morning. Not bad the second morning. Tolerable the third. On the fourth you look for some catsup (which, of course, you can't find) and the fifth morning you say, "No, thank you." Yet Britain has been living indefinitely in this way.

It is the same with sausages. They are good the first morning. But even the second morning you realize they have had the merest and most distant nodding acquaintance with meat. Nevertheless we were lucky. As I have said, the people who can afford to live at restaurants and hotels have a preferential position compared with the population as a whole.

Meat: The weekly meat ration is allowed to cost 1/2d, and the "tuppence" is supposed to be corned meat. A man showed me the week's meat for a household of two. It was four very small cutlets, so tiny they couldn't be called "chops" and couldn't even be proud of themselves as cutlets. The man said: "My wife and I each have one cutlet for dinner Saturday, and one on Sunday, and then we have eaten our meat ration for the week."

Fresh eggs: Yes, you get eggs—one egg per person per month—perhaps!

Milk: Yes, you get a half pint of milk per person on three days out of the seven in each week.

Butter: You get 2 ounces of butter per person per week and 4 ounces of margarine.

Fruit: In October there were apples and tomatoes. Oranges are distributed whenever there is a shipment. There had been one shipment since the end of the war and there was one other shipment of oranges whilst we were there. Those people who were lucky enough to get to the store before they were all sold got one orange, and it was marked on the ration card. There had been one shipment of grape fruit, and from it they got one grapefruit per person—if they were lucky.

It is a grim story. I have no right to varnish it. Let me illustrate by a personal incident. When we left the ship they gave us a little tiny cardboard box of food for the train. It was neatly tied up with string and pushed into your hand. I was rather amused at myself for taking it, because I confess that normally I would just as soon go hungry as eat sandwiches out of a paper bag. But I was going across country, and I arrived at my mother's home still carrying it. With a very badly misplaced sense of humour I said to my mother, "There you are, mother, I've brought you some ship's food." When it was opened, inside a piece of waxed paper there were four tiny sandwiches. As a woman would, my mother lifted the end of one to see what was inside, and she exclaimed, "Why it's *ham!*" And then she turned to her niece who lives with her and she said, *"Lisbeth, it's ham!"* Lisbeth looked at me and said, "Rupert, (that's my name when I am at home) we haven't seen ham for two years and a half!" And those four "itsy bitsy" sandwiches were put on a plate and treated as if they were one of the greatest delicacies that tea-time could offer.

Yes, it is grim. And I am afraid it is going to last. I don't know enough about finance to appreciate what the effect of the United States and Canadian loan will be. I make no comment on that loan except to say that the man who invented interest was no man's fool. The loan may lead to increased imports into Britain, but if not, the present condition is going to last, because Britain at the moment is in dire straits to buy enough "dollars" to pay for the meagre food importation which is keeping her body and soul together.

Here in Canada we think in terms of continued prosperity. There in Britain it is a case of rescuing solvency out of bankruptcy. Here we think in terms of comforts. There they think in terms of dire necessities. You know the old story about the farmer who pointed to his hired man and said, "He works for me, but I can't afford to pay him. Therefore he works two years for me, and then he has the farm. And then I work two years for him to get it back again." The story has a point to it. But despite this grim picture, gentlemen, the British people are taking it all in their stride. They don't complain.

In London you are conscious of an apparent change in the life of the city. The streets still have only one-third of their pre-war lighting. The streets are full of people, full of young people particularly, full of service people. The country-side shows less change. Out in the country areas life seems more as it used to be.

And here I wonder if I dare put in a comment on the old English country pub, as compared with our beverage rooms. Let me tell you about one in Lancashire. I went to see some people in the country there. We walked over the moor. We stopped in at a "pub" on a Saturday night. We went in to what is called the parlour. A carpet covered the whole floor. There were easy chairs. Even the little tables were handcarved. In spite of the fuel shortage, there was a coke fire burning in the "grate." There was an atmosphere about the place. Everybody was having a drink but nobody was "drinking," if you understand what I mean. As everyone went out, they turned around to the room and said "Good night", and the entire room responded and said "Good night." A man and his wife came in, they looked around, there was no vacancy to sit down. The man said to his wife, "There is no where to sit unless we sit on the fire. Come on." Everyone in the room grinned.

Whilst we were there someone came in to sell raffle tickets for a sack of potatoes, and a guarantee was given that the sack would be delivered to the home of the winner. I bought a shilling's worth of twopenny tickets. When the man had gone out, the two brothers who were sitting with me pushed their tickets over to me, and said, "You heard what he said—'Delivered to your home.' You better have these tickets." This was heard at the next table, and the occupants passed over their tickets to me. Soon it went around the whole room, and I collected all the tickets. Everyone was looking forward to the fun that was going to happen when the sack of potatoes had to be delivered to Canada. Unfortunately I did not win! You get the same kind of "pub" everywhere in the country.

Even the London pubs still have their "snack bars", though the snacks today are mainly the bread sausages I have mentioned plus such things as pickled herrings. Somehow or other the English "pub" makes our beverage room a shoddy thing, even though it is generally agreed that the English beer is "poor stuff" today. They tell a story of two Canadian soldiers in a London pub. One said to the other: "Isn't the beer bad?" The other replied, "Yes, don't you wish we had enough?"

I must stop talking soon but I should be unfair, gentlemen, if I did so before I said a word about Ontario House, which belongs to you and to me as inhabitants of this Province. It is doing a perfectly magnificent job. On its permanent side, its trade side and industrial side, it is building up contacts of serious importance to the future prosperity of the Province. In addition to that permanent side, it is doing a magnificent job for the armed services. As one example, Major Armstrong, the Agent General, told us that during the period it had been in existence, that is since the spring of this year, it had given over one-third of a million personal interviews, including personal interviews with 5,000 wives of Canadian soldiers. Another thing it has done will long be remembered. It had distributed to the Canadian Service Personnel 20 million cigarettes. Any Canadian service man or woman in uniform can go to Ontario House any day and can get a free packet of 25 cigarettes, just by signing a register that he or she hasn't received a packet on the same day. That's a bigger thing than it even sounds in telling it. It gives a fellow somewhere to go in London; it gives him something to do; and it gives him a packet of cigarettes; it lets him meet other fellows from Canada; it lets him see his home town newspaper which is provided there. The 20 million cigarettes distributed represent a very substantial contribution to the morale of the Canadian Forces both directly and indirectly.

Then in addition Ontario House is building up a register of would-be immigrants. Major Armstrong said that he has a record of 30,000 would-be immigrants who, with their dependents, come to nearly 100,000 in number. And he has important dockets of information, who they are, what they are, what they do, how much capital they have. As Major Armstrong says, he is not pushing emigration; all he is doing is getting reliable material together so that if, in the postwar period, emigration into Canada is opened up he can put his hand on a hundred thousand picked people.

On the other hand, whilst there is this big group of people who are anxious to come to Canada, Ontario House has a record of some 18,000 Canadians who have married British wives, and who want to go back to England after demobilization. Ontario House is preparing to extend the welcoming hand to them and to help them to get settled in Britain.

Then, too, Ontario House runs a Service Club in the

Haymarket. It is a Club which is open seven days a week. It is a Club that admits all ranks. It admits both sexes. It is one club that admits all nationalities. The result is that any Service man or woman of any nationality can go to the Ontario Service Club and find a welcome. From the time that Club was opened, they have served nearly one million meals, and the cost of a three-course meal, with roll and margarine and coffee, is 45 cents. If you remember what I said a moment or two ago about food, the dining rooms at the Ontario Service Club represent a substantial contribution to the morale of the Forces, a contribution of which Ontario can be proud.

Then in addition, any lad or lass who turns up in London on leave with nowhere to stay, can go to the Service Club where they keep a directory of homes which will offer a bed for the night. In the short time since the Club was opened, they have found beds for 15,000 Service men and Service women on leave in London.

Travelling in Britain spells endurance. I had an experience of it when I went up from Manchester to London one Sunday night. In my ignorance I had telegraphed for a sleeper. Of course there was no sleeper. I knew trains were full and I was at the station an hour and a half before the train left. Actually there were two trains to London, one at 11.15 and one at 12.05 midnight. The platform for the first train was already crowded at 10.15. The train came in about a quarter to 11. By that time the platform was six and seven deep, and in fifteen minutes the loud speaker system was calling out: "There is no more accommodation on the 11.15 train. Will all passengers please move over to Platform 5 for the 12.05." And by the time the 12.05 came in that platform again was six, seven, and eight deep. When the train stopped there was one mad fight to get on. I had a first class ticket. I got into a third class corridor. I had a suit case which I share with an Air Force officer. I sat on one half, he on the other. I don't know how he felt, but I became very, very conscious that the metal fittings of a suit case are very solid and leave a lasting impression. When that train moved out of the station you could not have found space to put a rabbit on it.

Travelling is certainly bad. It was bad trying to get back to Canada too. We had been allotted to a ship. The dock strike pushed her sailing date back, and we waited a week. We were told: "Don't leave London. Stay where we can find you quickly." So we waited. At the end of the week we got a bit worried, and we put through a private enquiry. We were privately told, "She won't sail next week, and no one knows when she actually will sail." We got ourselves allotted to another ship, and again we waited day after day. At the end of the next week we put another enquiry through and were told, "She is in dry dock." Eventually we came back by bomber. But to achieve that we had had to make a nuisance of ourselves. After waiting two weeks and a half I confess that we had become a little peevish. Laundry had run out, money had run out, patience had run out.

However, we eventually obtained places on a bomber, and when we eventually got on board I could see the runway lights through a little window. The engine went through its warming up period. The runway lights began to move. Quicker and quicker they flashed past. Then they began to drop as we were air-borne. One knew one was going to sit on the same seat for 17 successive hours, nevertheless at that moment I leaned back, and I said, "Well, thank God, the next stop is Canada."

Now this is a good place to stop talking. Any speaker who passes a stopping point ought to have something done to him. But I have two minutes left, and I want to use them in reading to you something that Ruskin said seventy-five years ago. He was speaking to the youth of Britain, and he said:

> "THERE IS A DESTINY NOW POSSIBLE TO US— . . . We . . . still have the firmness to govern, and the grace to obey. We have been taught a religion of pure mercy, which we must either now betray, or learn to defend by fulfilling. And we are rich in an inheritance of honour . . . which it should

> be our daily thirst to increase . . . Within the last few years we have had the laws of natural science opened to us with a rapidity which has been blinding by its brightness; and means of transit and communication given to us, which have made but one kingdom of the habitable globe . . . Will you . . . make your country again . . . for all the world a source of light, a centre of peace; mistress of Learning and of the Arts;—faithful guardian of great memories in the midst of irreverent . . . visions;—faithful servants of time-tried principles . . . and amidst the cruel and clamorous jealousies of the nations worshipped in her strange valour of goodwill towards men?"

Written seventy-five years ago: it might have been written yesterday, mightn't it? And it applies to us in Canada just as much as it applies to people in Britain.

You know, gentlemen, we forget very easily. Already we tend to forget VE Day, certainly VJ Day. We tend to forget that exaltation of spirit which we felt as we heard the broadcast words which declared the war at an end, the exaltation of spirit which came at that moment from our consciousness of the vindication and triumph of the kind of life in which we believe. We tend to forget the lumps which were in our throats at that moment, giving release to pent-up emotions. We tend to forget the thankfulness that was in our hearts that night that the bloodshed and slaughter was over.

But Britain is still in a dire situation today. She will come out of it. Kites rise against the wind, not with it. St. George is fighting his new dragon, and he will succeed, as of old. But the fight is still on, and, gentlemen, will you let me suggest that when you go home tonight you spend two minutes in re-reading one of Kipling's poems, the one which he called "Recessional"—perhaps one of the finest things he did—and that after re-reading it you might spend two more minutes thinking about it, especially the verse which runs like this:

"Far-called, our navies melt away;
  On dune and headland sinks the fire;
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
  Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!
Judge of the Nations, spare us yet,
  Lest we forget—lest we forget! . . .

Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Let we forget—lest we forget!

"CHRISTMAS MEETING"

Thursday, December 20, 1945

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

MR. THOMPSON: Ladies and Gentlemen, on behalf of the Empire Club of Canada, I would like to welcome, to this our Christmas meeting, the wives and friends of our club members who have come here today. I need hardly say that it is very gratifying indeed, to the Club Executive, to see such a large attendance. We sincerely hope you will enjoy yourselves as much as we enjoy the privilege of having you with us.

During the past few years, it has become our custom to celebrate the Christmas Season by inviting the ladies to our meeting and at the same time to provide something different in the way of a programme from our regular meetings. This year we are to be entertained by two distinct groups: The Dickens Fellowship of Toronto and The Malvern Collegiate Mixed Choir.

Rev. J. B. M. Armour, M.A., D.D., President of The Dickens Fellowship will introduce to you their players and Mr. Roy Wood, Director of the Malvern Choir will announce their musical numbers.

I will now turn the microphone over to Dr. Armour.

DR. ARMOUR: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen and all unseen hearers; The Dickens Fellowship of Toronto appreciates very highly the privilege of presenting to the Empire Club two of its Charter Members, Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Rostance, as its representatives on this Festive occasion. Mr. and Mrs. Rostance are English-born, in Cheshire and Yorkshire respectively, a delightful combination of cheese and pudding! For forty-five years they have been worthy citizens of Toronto and have contributed to its amateur dramatics as Hart House players and in many Dickens plays and sketches.

The Dickens Fellowship has been in existence in Toronto for some forty-one years and still meets during the

Winter Season in the Heliconian Club, Hazelton Avenue on the third Thursday of each month.

I am now asking Mr. Rostance to give, in his unique way, a recitation entitled "A Personal Experience". He first heard it given by the late Mr. Bell Smith, one of the former Presidents of the Dickens Fellowship, and I think without insulting the memory of the departed, I can say he has even bettered his example!

In a few minutes I shall have the honour of introducing Mr. Rostance in company with his better half, when he will take the part of Sairey Gamp, and Mrs. Rostance will take the part of Betsy Prig, "her frequent pardner".

The recitation "A Personal Experience" was then given by Mr. Rostance much to the enjoyment of the audience.

The Malvern Choir, under the direction of Mr. Roy Wood and through the kind permission of Dr. Roy Fenwick, they took over and delightfully entertained the meeting with Christmas Carols and English Folk Songs.

The Chairman again called upon Dr. Armour, who introduced the next number on the programme.

Dr. Armour: Whilst Mr. and Mrs. Rostance are preparing for the famous scene from Martin Chuzzlewit, taken from Chapter 49, "in which Mrs. Harris, assisted by a teapot, is the cause of division between friends," I have the opportunity of saying a few words of introduction as a kind of prose prologue.

Mr. Rostance in the role of Mrs. Gamp, is the result of a conversation he had some years ago with his wife. He saw a representation of Mrs. Gamp, and remarked to his wife as they left the gathering: "I did not think that portrayal did justice to Mrs. Gamp." "Well" said his wife, ever practical, "if you did not like it, why don't you attempt to do it yourself?"

Mrs. Harris is a life-long and imaginary companion of Mrs. Gamp, her confidante on every occasion, and her court of appeal in every argument. The scene is laid in Mrs. Gamp's famous room which is so intimately described by Charles Dickens. Mrs. Gamp is preparing to entertain her frequent pardner, Betsy Prig. She has provided "two pounds of Newcastle salmon, intensely pickled, a delicate new loaf, a plate of fresh butter, and a basin of white sugar". Mrs. Betsy Prig is late, and after the usual affectionate greetings she makes the sage remark: "I knowed she'd forget the cowcumber." Thereupon she produces out of a capacious pocket a tuppeny salad, and the ladies sit down to tea. The conversation is hardly as cordial as usual and there is hostility in the air. Finally a teapot is produced from a shelf together with two wine glasses. The ladies drink while Mrs. Gamp discourses, but Mrs. Prig attempts to take two drinks for Mrs. Gamp's one. "No, Betsy. Drink fair wotever you do." This leads up to Betsy Prig's saying "Bother Mrs. Harris," and uttering those memorable and tremendous words: "I don't believe there is no sich a person."

Now, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, this sketch will indeed amuse you all. There will be pauses when actions take place, which unfortunately the unseen audience cannot see. But beyond all the humour there was the tragedy and neglect of rich and poor in the early days of Queen Victoria when "Mrs. Gamp and Betsy Prig her frequent pardner" truly represented the nursing profession in those days. Dickens, as Chesterton said, has made Mrs. Gamp a sumptuous character and his gift of humour lightens up a really dark story of cruel neglect and unfeeling conduct. If today we have our splendidly equipped hospitals, our trained nurses, our clean wards, their possession is due in some measure at any rate to the pen of Charles Dickens. In his own inimitable way he drew the picture of nursing conditions as he did of Yorkshire schools, and thus made a contribution to the improved conditions in education and nursing which we enjoy today.

When you enter hospitals, either as a visitor or a patient, never forget the debt owed to Charles Dickens for the services, often sacrificially rendered, by nurses. In spite of the limitations and frailties of his character, Charles Dickens was deeply influenced by the great example of Him Who healed the sick and looked with compassion on the poor. "The healing of His seamless dress is by our beds of pain. We touch Him in life's throng and press, and we are whole again." So, as we realize that supreme fact at this season of the year, let us each and all make Scrooge's famous resolve: "I will honour Christmas in my heart and try to keep it all the year."

Mr. and Mrs. Rostance then put on their extremely amusing skit entitled "Sairy Gamp and Betsy Prig Take Tea Together" which was greatly enjoyed by everyone.

The Malvern Choir once more favoured the audience with Carols and Folk songs, and a very pleasant meeting was brought to close.

"ONTARIO'S COURSE IS CLEAR"

AN ADDRESS BY

HON. GEORGE DREW, K.C., LL.D.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Tuesday, January 8, 1946

MR. THOMPSON: Gentlemen, it is with very great pleasure that I welcome this large audience to our first meeting of the New Year. We are particularly pleased to have with us on this occasion, members of the Board of Trade.

The Empire Club of Canada has been greatly honoured in recent years, by being addressed at it's opening meeting of the New Year, by our guest speaker of today, who is a Past President of this Club.

His thoughtful and timely addresses to this Club, have always been of wide interest and he has chosen to speak to us today on the subject "Ontario's Course is Clear". The most singular tribute that I can pay to him is to introduce to you without further comment, the Prime Minister of Ontario, the Hon. George Drew, K.C., LL.D.

HON. GEORGE DREW: As you may have gathered, it is my intention to discuss with you today Ontario's plans for a more effective working combination of the combined powers of the Dominion and nine provincial governments. After reading the flare headlines last night, "DREW PLAN HOPELESS", perhaps there may be some who will wonder if it is worth while for me to discuss those plans. However, it is not the first time that particular newspaper has been completely wrong, and I hope, before I am finished, I may have helped to clarify your minds as to what the issues really are.

Already a number of statements have appeared attacking these proposals, and strangely enough in several cases those who have attacked them most vigorously have indicated at the same time that they have not read the proposals. One such statement from what is, I admit, an extremely irresponsible source, describes our proposals as a blow to the nation's unity. The man who made that statement was one of those who had not read the proposals. But since such statements have been made, may I at the outset quote from the early part of our printed submission to indicate the basis on which we approached these problems.

> "In making its submissions to the Conference, the Government of the Province of Ontario proceeds upon the assumption that the future strength of Canada and the welfare of all its people will depend upon the measure of co-ordination and continuing co-operation which can be established between all governments in Canada and the agencies of those governments. While recognizing that each provincial government owes its primary responsibility to the people of its own province, we fully recognize the dependence of the people of every province on the strength and vigour of the whole nation for their continuing welfare and prosperity. We are also convinced that the strength of our national structure very largely depends upon the strength, independence, and self-reliance with which each provincial government is able to undertake its own allotted tasks. These principles are stated at the outset so that it may be clearly understood that our proposals are made in the belief that they should be equally acceptable in every part of Canada and are in no instance put forward with the thought of giving any special advantage to those who live in the Province of Ontario."

One of the weaknesses of our position in the past has been that there has been a growing tendency to settle differences of opinion in regard to the division of powers between the Dominion and provincial governments by extended litigation, instead of by the sensible system of sitting around the council table and threshing out the difficulties, with a sincere intention of reaching effective agreement. It has been stated over and over again that federation is a partnership between governments, autonomous in their own fields, but legislating in entirely different fields except for a very few instances of overlapping jurisdiction. True, the Dominion Government is responsible for the affairs of the whole of Canada, while the provincial governments are responsible for the affairs of much more limited areas. But the governments carry on their administration, and their legislative bodies pass laws covering entirely different fields of activity. They are, in fact, partners in the true sense of the word. The Dominion Government is the most important partner with the heaviest individual responsibility, but within their own field of administrative and legislative responsibility each government and each legislative body is autonomous. That is no new conception. On the contrary, it is the basic conception of any federation. The leading case interpreting the character of Canadian federalism states the position very simply in the judgment of Lord Watson.

> "The object of the Act was neither to weld the provinces into one, nor to subordinate provincial governments to a central authority, but to create a Federal Government in which they should all be represented, entrusted with the exclusive administration of affairs in which they had a common interest, each province retaining its independence, and autonomy."

That was the purpose of the Fathers of Confederation. That has been the law ever since. It is the law today. That does not mean, for a moment, that we should be unwilling to discuss the possibility of change, or even the possibility that our constitution has outlived its usefulness. But at the same time, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that there is nothing disruptive of national unity in simply asserting what has been the clearly stated law since 1867.

But there is another reason why the Federal System appealed to those who drafted our constitution. We have special problems in this country which are the same today as they were in 1867, and they are recognized in another leading judgment in recent years again interpreting the British North America Act. In that judgment, Lord Sankey had this to say:

> "Inasmuch as the Act embodies a compromise under which the original provinces agreed to federate, it is important to keep in mind that the preservation of the rights of minorities was a condition on which such minorities entered in the federation, and the foundation upon which the whole structure was subsequently erected. The process of interpretation as the years go on ought not to be allowed to dim or to whittle down the provisions of the original contract upon which the federation was founded, nor is it legitimate that any judicial construction of the provisions of Sections 91 and 92 should impose a new and different contract upon the federating bodies."

When we discuss the rights of minorities, referred to in such judgments, we are sometimes inclined to think of particular minorities. But it would be well to remember that the four million people of Ontario are a minority within Confederation. We have minority rights to protect which are just as important to us as are the minority rights of other parts of Canada. Remembering that the provincial governments have the exclusive constitutional jurisdiction over education, property and civil rights, the administration of justice, municipal affairs, the development of our resources, and most of the other things that affect our personal daily lives, I can state very emphatically that the Government of Ontario has no intention of abandoning its minority rights and powers in those extremely important fields of legislation to a central authority which might, at some time, possess a majority wholly unsympathetic to our way of life.

May I also remind you that one of the conditions of the acceptance of Confederation, which is clearly stated in the preamble to the Act, was that the union of the provinces was not only for the purpose of forming a strong nation but also for the purpose of strengthening the British Empire. One of the rights we intend to preserve is to keep Ontario a strong and vigorous factor in the building of an ever stronger British Commonwealth and Empire.

I have stated these considerations because they have a very direct bearing upon the extent to which the Ontario Government would be prepared to abandon any powers which would help to preserve those minority rights. But as I have already stated, we have no thought of asserting those rights to the disadvantage of any other province. We assert them rather in the belief that the strength of Ontario will contribute largely to the strength of other provinces, and that to a very large degree the strength of Canada depends upon the continued vigour, initiative and self-reliance of that province, which with a third of the population has for some years paid almost half of the total taxes in Canada, and has maintained almost the same proportionate basis of industrial production.

It is with these thoughts in mind that we have made our proposals. Some of them are completely new, but some of them have already found partial acceptance at the meetings of the Conference which have already taken place. Remembering that there is no single piece of legislation which can be passed by any government which cannot be passed by either the Dominion or provincial government, or by both of them working together, we direct our intention first to the setting up of an organization which will assure a continuing and practical functioning relationship between the governments as active co-operating partners in the business of governing Canada.

We urge the setting up of a Dominion-Provincial Co-ordinating Committee, made up of the heads of the ten governments or their nominees, and working side by side with this Co-ordinating Committee on the ministerial level, we propose the setting up of a Dominion-Provincial Economic Board composed of economic and technical advisors from every government. In many ways, this suggestion would create something in the nature of a head office organization of a large business, with many branch plants. Naturally, the head office would be Ottawa, and in Ottawa the partner with the largest share of responsibility would sit as chairman at the regular meetings of representatives of the other parts of the organization and they would solve their problems in a sensible and businesslike way. This could call for a permanent secretariat in Ottawa where all the governments would have immediate and constant access to every essential fact bearing upon their own problems or the broader problems of the Dominion, which affect their own affairs.

Already the wisdom of such a course has been recognized by setting up a temporary Co-ordinating Committee and a temporary Economic Committee. When it is suggested that we are not wholeheartedly co-operating in this effort, may I merely remind you that the Co-ordinating Committee was set up in August on my motion, and the Economic Committee was set up in November also on my motion. I remind you of this only to emphasize the fact that no government represented at the Conference has shown more practical desire to co-operate in the broad interests of Canada than has the Government of Ontario.

We have also proposed the setting up of a National Adjustment Fund, starting at $20,000,000, out of which wou'd be paid annually the whole of that amount to those provinces in need of special assistance. It is merely indicative of the carping, narrow form of criticism one encounters in times like these that I read in the press today that one critic had said that this didn't really mean very much because all the provinces would be contributing. Yes that is true. Ontario will be contributing nearly half. Quebec will be contributing a very large amount. So will British Columbia. The provinces which would receive the most would be contributing a very small fraction of the total sum. That is no reflection on them in any way. It simply represents the very economic situation which this National Adjustment Fund is intended to meet. But there is in such a criticism the clear evidence of a fundamental misunderstanding of where our taxes come from. Because we suggest that each of the provinces contribute to this fund out of their own revenues, it is said that those provinces which receive would also be paying out, no matter how small that payment might be. What these critics completely fail to see is that, if such a fund is created by the Dominion Government, the same provinces will be paying into that fund through Dominion revenue in exactly the same proportion. For some reason, many people will forget that there is only one set of taxpayers. They are the people who live in the nine provinces of Canada. They don't pay any more and they don't pay any less because taxes happen to be collected through one channel or the other. The only thing that matters is what the total amount of taxes ultimately amounts to.

It is interesting to see some of those who were enthusiastic about the Rowell-Sirois Report lightly brushing aside this proposal for a National Adjustment Fund. That was the recommendation in the Rowell-Sirois Report which received the warmest approval in those provinces which do require special grants. That is exactly what we are proposing, and upon the same principles recommended in that report. The difference is that instead of a fund of $14,900,000, recommended by the Rowell-Sirois Report, we are recommending a fund starting at $20,000,000. In doing so, we know that Ontario will pay out nearly half of that amount without any expectation of receiving a cent in return. We do that in recognition of the principle we have always accepted that the provinces of Canada are one great team, and that if we happen to have any special advantages we are prepared to share those advantages with the other members of the team for the purpose of building a strong, vigorous and united Canada.

We have also made a very important proposal in regard to corporation taxes. We recognize that the location of head offices in Ontario and Quebec does give these two larger provinces special advantages in that field of taxation. We propose that companies conducting business on a national basis will make returns showing the business done in each province, and that the taxes paid from head office will be apportioned on the basis of the business done, not only insofar as those taxes are imposed upon domestic business but upon export business as well. In the face of proposals of this kind, which completely implement the suggestions of the Rowell-Sirois Report in that respect, and in fact go even farther, I read today the report of a statement that I am seeking to "penalize Canadians because they live in provinces not so foruntately situated as Ontario, which enjoys not only great national wealth but also the tribute exacted by industry and finance." That malicious criticism, incidentally, was also made by a man who admitted he had not read the proposals.

Then I might point out that in spite of what you may have read to the contrary, we actually recommend, without reservation, the acceptance of the principle of deferment of postponeable construction under the inducement of Timing Grants. Dealing with this point, and with the type of criticism which must be met in trying to make any constructive proposals, I might refer to a statement I read last night that this could not be done because we recommended that these Timing Grants be under the direction of a body which was not elected by the people and not responsible to any government. What utter nonsense! We recommended that the Timing Grants should be approved and the ultimate decision as to the date of construction made by the Co-ordinating Committee on the advice of the Economic Board. The Co-ordinating Committee made up of all Premiers or their representatives is fully representative of all the people of Canada. It is in fact the combined representation of all the governments. I can think of no safer and no more businesslike way of dealing with this extremely important attempt to build up a back-log of public construction against the threat of any broad cyclical recession of export trade or private domestic investment which would otherwise produce unemployment. We have gone farther than the Dominion Government. We agree on the basic proposals and recommend a much better system for the approval of the grants and the timing of the construction.

We also approve in broad principle of the welfare and health proposals, except that in the case of welfare we recommend that instead of having old age pensions payable between 65 and 70, with a means test, and over 70 without a means test, all pensions should be payable over 65 without a means test. In our opinion, anything else would cause confusion and great unhappiness in families where conceivably two members of the same family might be receiving pensions in two different categories. Our proposal in that respect is perfectly clear and I think just and fair to old age pensioners, who, under the Dominion plan, are to receive some form of pension from 65 on in any event.

There are a number of other proposals worked out after we have had the full benefit of the constant meetings of the Economic Committee since last November. I am convinced that every one of them is sound. We have had the advantage of an extremely competent Treasurer and a staff of trained economists with long experience in government financing.

The only basic point of departure between our proposals and those of the Dominion Government is that we insist on the return to the provinces of their own taxing powers which they had before 1942, and which the Dominion Government solemnly undertook to return undiminished to the provinces at the end of the first fiscal year following the cessation of hostilities.

In regard to this proposal, I read in the same paper whose name shall be unmentionable at this meeting that as a result of this particular proposal there would be a loss of $400.000.000 annually. Even with its long record in that field, I must pay my respects to this particular newspaper for an all-time high in complete and utter falsehood. There will not be a loss of one cent. Surely it is clear that the people of the nine provinces who are the only taxpayers after all are only going to pay the same total amount of taxes for the same services, whether the taxes are imposed by the Dominion Government or whether they are imposed in part by the provincial governments and the Dominion Government for the same purpose.

It has been axiomatic even since before the rather dramatic experience of Charles the First, that the power to tax is the power to govern. If the provinces give up any discretionary authority over the amount of taxes they are to collect in their most important fields of taxation, conferred upon them at Confederation, then they become mere annuitants of the Dominion Government and will be utterly helpless to use their own initiative and their own discretion in developing their resources, settling their land, and increasing the welfare and prosperity of their own people, in accordance with the combined vigour, courage, and hard work of those people.

This outcry against the proposal that the taxes should be returned to the provinces and the suggestion that this threatens the whole structure of national unity sounds very strange indeed when one reads the explicit undertaking of the Dominion Government, given as recently as 1942.

When all the provinces gave up certain taxing powers for the period of the war and the first full fiscal year thereafter, in return for fixed annual payments by the Dominion Government, they did so with the recognition of the fact that the Dominion Government had already centralized all authority under the War Measures Act and Mobilization Act. They did so in a patriotic desire to give every possible power to wage total war to the government charged with the full responsibility for waging the war. But the intention of both the Dominion and provincial governments was made clear in the preamble to the Ontario Agreement which was similar to the agreements entered into between the Dominion Government and every other province. Let me read you from the preamble to the Act:

> "Whereas the province shall not, by agreeing as hereinafter provided to desist from imposing certain taxes during the term of this agreement, be deemed to have surrendered, abandoned or given over to the

> Dominion Government any of the powers, rights, privileges or authority vested in the province under the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, or any subsequent act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, or otherwise to have impaired any of such powers, rights, privileges, or authority."

Surely that is clear enough. All we are asking is that this statement be recognized. But in the event that any one may suggest that this was merely a statement of principle, may I remind you that there is a section in the agreement under which the Dominion Government gave the most positive undertaking in regard to personal and corporation income taxes, which are the major taxes under consideration. It reads as follws:

> "The Dominion shall have the sole right to levy taxes on personal and corporation incomes of the calendar year ending on the 31st day of December nearest to the date of the termination of this agreement, and *with respect to personal and corporation incomes in the following calendar year undertakes to reduce its rates of taxes by such an amount as will enable the province again to use the income tax and corporation tax fields."*

Far from there being any occasion for the provinces to defend their position in asking for the return of their rights to tax in these fields, it would be extremely hard to understand how any *new* agreement could have any value whatever if the Dominion Government is not prepared to carry out that clear and positive undertaking. May I say in fairness to the Dominion Government, in spite of all that you have read, that there is no indication from them that they are unwilling to recognize this obligation.

Perhaps some will say, "Oh well but the situation was very different when these agreements were signed, and it is not possible now to carry out what seemed possible at that time." The situation has changed but changed very much for the better. That agreement was signed when our military fortunes were at their very lowest ebb. British naval power was at its most critical point. Rommel was threatening not only the occupation of the whole of Africa but seemed likely to sweep across the Suez through to Persia. The German armies were driving deep into Russia and threatening the Caucusus. The Japanese armies were sweeping into incredible speed through China, Malaya, Burma, Java, the Southern Pacific Islands, and to the very door of Australia. At that time there was no reason for any one to believe that by January 1946 we would have shared in the most complete and overwhelming victory of all history, and that Canada would have emerged stronger and more vigorous than ever before. The reasons are far stronger today for being able to fulfil that undertaking than they were in March 1942.

However, we still find the objection that our proposals would mean a duplication of taxes and heavier taxes. Our proposals make it clear that we want no duplication of taxes and no duplication of tax forms. On the contrary, we urge that in every case there be single tax forms, not only as between the Dominion and the provinces but between the provinces as well in such fields of overlapping taxation as succession duties. And may I repeat again that it will mean no additional taxes because the total taxes must be the same wherever the incidence of taxation lies. May I repeat that our proposals will not raise the taxes of the people of Canada by one cent.

On the contrary it is my belief that our proposals will reduce taxes because it will bring the administration of affairs back under the provincial departments trained to administer those affairs. Ever since 1791, municipal affairs have been the responsibility of the provincial government. So too have property and civil rights, and all those other things which mean so much in our daily life. If we were to accept proposals which meant the centralization of the control of these fields of legislation, it would man the setting up in Ottawa of duplicating civil service, and it would be necessary to train people who have no present knowledge of that work. The closer government is to the people, the better government always is, and if we get the administration of our local provincial affairs back under the hands of the provincial governments and the municipalities, instead of increasing the total of taxes to the people of Canada, we will see the first prospect of that measure of reduction of taxation which is essential if we are to keep our production costs in all types of production to a level where we can compete in the markets of the world for that export trade which is the very life blood of our economy. A very wise Greek stated a simple but everlasting truth more than 2000 years ago in these words:

> "A statesman who is ignorant of the way in which events originate is like a physician who does not know the causes of the diseases he undertakes to cure."

Those who fail to see the dangers of centralization, in spite of the loss of democratic freedom in nation after nation through such centralization, have not learned the way that events originate. Quite apart from economic reasons and other arguments in favour of the Federal System, particularly inherent in the Canadian situation, there is the fact that distribution of authority over local affairs under local governments is the surest way of preserving the very form of democratic government which was preserved by force of arms in the war which has just been won.

It was that great spokesman for the fundamental principles of democracy, Thomas Jefferson, who said this:

> "What has destroyed liberty and the rights of man in every government which has ever existed under the sun? The generalizing and concentrating all cares and powers into one body."

That is exactly what we wish to avoid. But in avoiding it, we want to make sure that the central government is strong and free to carry on the business of the nation and to conduct our international affairs. We want only local affairs under the local governments with their trained staffs, which have been gaining experience and traditions of public service in those fields for a hundred and fifty years. Our proposals make that possible under a system of continuing and effective co-operation, such as has never before existed in Canada. With a permanent secretariat in Ottawa representing all the governments, and with the Co-ordinating Committee meeting at least once every three months, we would place the combined business of government in Canada on a thoroughly businesslike basis, where any differences of opinion or problems of conflict of authority can be threshed out in a friendly way around the council table. May I close with the very statement with which we closed our submissions to the Conference. We have presented our proposals, with the acceptance of the basic principle, that while each provincial government owes its primary responsibility to the people of its own province, the welfare and prosperity of the people of all provinces depend upon the strength and vigour of the whole nation. With a spirit of *co-operation, understanding,* and *mutual good-will,* this Conference can lay the foundation for Canada's greatest period of expansion and prosperity, without any fundamental changes in the constitutional structure upon which has been built a strong and confident nation.

That gentlemen is I believe the best way to make sure of a strong Canada within a strong and united British Empire.

"THE UNCERTAIN FUTURE"

AN ADDRESS BY

MR. PERCY JAMES PHILIP

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, January 17, 1946

MR. THOMPSON: Gentlemen, the Empire Club of Canada is today honoured by the presence of one who has graced our platform on many occasions; this in fact, will be his seventh appearance, which indicates that we have found his addresses informative and outstanding.

Our speaker, who was born in Scotland, received part of his education at the George Watson College, Edinburgh and, is prominent in the Watsonian Society. He later attended Oxford University in England. For 21 years he was stationed in France as correspondent of the New York Times and, now that he has established domicile in Canada by more than five years residence here, he might well be termed a Canadian.

At present, he is stationed in Ottawa as the Canadian representative of that great journal, the New York Times, which has always been so friendly to this country and which paper is so well and favourably known throughout the world.

His speeches have been in the form of a series, tracing the progress of the war; in his first address given in November, 1940, when he had just come to this continent following the fall of France, he opened his remarks by saying, "I am sure we can win this war, though it is going to be a long, grim business." We can now in retrospect, appreciate the astuteness of this prophecy as well as many others he made before this club.

Today he has selected as the title of his address "The Uncertain Future". It is indeed with pleasure, that I now turn the microphone over to Mr. Percy James Philip.

MR. PERCY JAMES PHILIP: During the war I never indulged in any easy optimism, and I am not going to begin now. Those who live by wishful thinking perish in disillusion. Hitler was one of them. He had completely convinced himself that he could accomplish whatever he set out to do. And we have got to admit that he did pretty well. It was no small accomplishment for an Austrian-born corporal in the German army to become the Fuhrer and absolute ruler of Germany, the conqueror of France, the master of most of Europe and a nightmare to the whole world.

What play-things of the winds of fate we are. We think our regimes, our institutions, our governments, our parliaments, our churches, our insurance companies and our banks are such solid things. We regard our civilization as permanent and progressive. But Adolf Hitler nearly blew them all away. Don't let us forget him, and the fright he gave us, or minimize the danger of others like him. That one man with an idea, did more to change the face of society than a hundred years of Sunday schools.

He is dead. He did not kill himself, as I once dreamed he would, alone in the beauty of Berchtesgaden. But he killed himself knowing how completely he had failed in one part of his dream—to make Germany master of the world and establish peace for a thousand years by that mastery. He wanted to go to Berchtesgaden and fulfil his destiny. But there was feminine interference. That silly woman Eva Braun wanted to die in Berlin married to the defeated man. What play-acting. These Germans are all at heart Wagnerian sentimentalists. But it wasn't Gotterdammering. There was neither dignity nor tragedy in that hysterical final act of poison and cremation in the underground cellar of the Chalcenry, while the Russian shells ground down the ruined city.

But in one part of his prophesy Hitler succeeded. He said that if he did not win he would plunge the world into chaos and misery, into such confusion and conflict and disorder that eventually his conception of government by force would prevail. He is dead. We won the war. But we must soberly face the fact that he has left behind him a heritage of troubles and dangers far more difficult to deal with than the simple business of killing or being killed. It is no good pretending that it will all work out in time. Here on this Continent life goes on so much as usual that the tendency has already developed to disregard, as a nuisance, the hates and rivalries, the ideas and passions, the ambitions and ideals of hungry homeless millions that are rending Europe and Asia, and the magnitude of the task that confronts us if order and law and personal freedom are to be restored and peace assured.

Mr. Winston Churchill was among the first to see and appreciate the immense difficulty of the task of making peace, as he was among the first to see the danger of the rise of the Nazi doctrine. On his return from the Yalta conference he told the House of Commons: "I never felt so grave a sense of responsibility as I did at Yalta. We have entered a world of imponderables, and at every stage self-questioning arises. It is a mistake to look too far ahead. Only one link in the chain of destiny can be handled at will."

As I have so often done in these recent years I want to take that great man's words as a kind of text for what I have to say today. And I am going to use them as a warning.

After the last war it was my privilege to sit as an observer close to the peace-makers—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau. I went with them, and their successors, from one conference to another—Versailles, Spa, Cannes, Genoa, and many times at Geneva, I watched the men to whom we had entrusted our fate trying honestly, fairly, sometimes courageously, but, often, in emergency, too weakly, to make that new orderly lawful world of which we had dreamed.

These men did one thing at least. They did not let the grass grow under their feet. It is already eight months since the war ended. By that time, after the last war, for better or worse, we already had a peace treaty signed and in operation. This time we have scarcely begun, and the beginnings that have been made have not, it has seemed to me, been such as to inspire confidence.

I don't want to be discouraging—but I do intend to insist that if we don't want things to end in the same mess as they did last time, we must think and act very differently.

What went wrong? We cannot put the whole blame on Hitler. It began with ourselves, with our systems and our ideas, or our lack of them. We were filled with hot air idealism and taken down the easy path of national egoism, of indifference and appeasement. It ended with our lack of courage to be prepared to fight for what we believed to be good against what we knew to be evil. Some countries, although thank God not ours, even waited until they were attacked before they dared declare war.

Our governments of that time were thinking more of politics than of principles. They were thinking more of elections than of their responsibility to their peoples. "Get the boys home by Christmas—return to normalcy—limitation of armaments"—these were the slogans, and I have seemed to hear an echo of them now. That is not leadership. I heard it once described by a Frenchman—who was criticising his own government, as the policy of a dead dog floating down stream.

I think we should be wary of Government, and of political parties, which promise us the mood and sixpence without scrifice and without effort in a world which is more than ever, despite all the lip-service which is paid to harmony and peace, still at the mercy of men like Hitler with immense power and secret ambitions. I do not wish to be disrespectful towards our democratic governments. They are just as the electors pick them. They are certainly not supermen—and I don't know where some of them get the idea that they are. But—and this is what is important—their strength as the representatives of their countries depends on the support they get from their people. They always need prodding.

That is where we enter the picture—we the people. If our governments failed last time it was largely our fault. We did not think out clearly what we wanted and demand that it should be done. We indulged in an argy of false values. Is it going to be the same this time?

In these past months since the fighting ended I have asked a great many ordinary Canadians, both civilians and returned service men—people who had done their whole duty in the war, just what kind of world they wanted and how they were going to help make it. Some of them had political ideas. If their party got in—then you would see. But most times I was reminded of a little poem written by an English woman during the war and called Retreat:

"When there is peace again, soldier, what will you do?
I shall go back to the job I had before
Behind the counter at the hardware store—
That's what I'll do.

"And you, Sailor, when you have left the sea?
I shall go back to my job as a plumber's mate
And lean of an evening on my garden gate—
That'll suit me.

"What will you do, brave man with the silver wings?
I shall return, I hope, to my pre-war life,
To my dog, and my week-end golf and my wife
And such like things.

"And I myself, what is my heart's desire?
I want to go back to a house that is all mine
To lie in one of my own chairs, on my spine,
By the fire.

"Back, back, is where all of us want to go,
Each to his little well-worn, well-beloved spot,
So, who in the wide world's going forward is what
I'd like to know."

There is too much truth in these verses. We have all, in our way, done our job and want to relax and go fishing. But we dare not. This is far too hot a world, it is travelling at far too great a momentum, it is too full of explosives for us to turn our backs on it and think it doesn't matter. And it is no good leaving it to the big fellows to straighten out. I have no doubt they are all clever, well-intentioned men, each according to his ideas, but, whatever the communiques may say there is conflict in those ideas. And if we don't care what happens, if we don't speak up and show that we are stubborn in demanding what we believe to be right, then how can we expect those who represent us to do their best in a tough argument.

The worst of our mistakes last time, and it looks as if it would be repeated, was, that as soon as the fighting was over, we forgot our anger and we forgot our suspicions. We pretended to ourselves that our allies, and even our enemies, were just the same kind of easy-going, peace-loving fellows as we were ourselves—British and Canadian. They were not. Some of the biggest talkers among our allies backed out of their responsibilities leaving us holding not only our own bags but theirs. Others acted as if they alone had won the war and were entitled to all the benefits. Our enemies were quick to see our weakness and division and began preparing their revenge—which I find a perfectly natural thing to do. If we had been beaten, we would have done the same—I hope.

This time I am not so much afraid that the Germans will start thinking of a new war. It is going to take even more than an Adolf Hitler to restore their fanatacism to the point of fighting, after the pummeling they have had. As for Hirohito—who was no upstart but a man trained in the responsibility of government—I wonder if the fact that Japan took the wrong turning, and linked her destiny to Germany instead of to Britain, was not less the Emperor's fault than that of those who, in their wisdom, broke up the Anglo-Japanese alliance after the last war. Hirohito has behaved correctly—even to the point of admitting that he is not divine. I think he should get credit for that, and not be ridiculed. We may need him.

But our allies—and ourselves. Let us be practical. I wonder if we are going to be able to build that wonderful edifice of the United Nations, which was planned in semi-secret at Dumbarton Oaks, blue-printed at San Francisco and is now being given form in London. Or is it going to be another illusion, another Tower of Babel, another Hague Palace of Peace, another Geneva League of Nations?

Once, when I was at the Geneva disarmament conference, my father who was a minister of the Church of Scotland, wrote me chidingly, as if I was responsible, that we seemed to be talking a lot about disarmament but from what he read in other columns of the newspapers everybody was acting differently. Although I did not feel called upon to defend the Conference I replied that the Church had been in existence for over 1900 years, and the Popes, priests and parsons had done a lot of talking but I still did not find that the world had been entirely converted to Christian principles.

The old man sent me back a sporting telegram with the two words: "You win".

Now, it seems to me that these paper edifices of U. N. O. Bretton Woods, the Farm and Food Organization, the Atomic Bomb control Commission, Tariff agreements and every other document we have signed or are being asked to sign with other nations will depend for success on two things, the solidity of the foundations in popular confidence and the honesty of the contractors charged with the building. It just is not any use building churches if the people don't believe, and it is a mockery of the people if the priests and ministers do not set high example.

I don't know how it is in other countries, but I have not been struck here in Canada by the extent of public enthusiasm for U. N. O. You never hear it talked about, outside the very limited circle of those in Parliament and in the press who are interested in external affairs. Even the press has shown how casually it regards it by printing such nonsense as that the Duke of Windsor would be the first director-general. It will be interesting to see which gets the most space in the newspapers during the next few weeks: the U. N. O. organization meeting in London, Jail breaks in Toronto or crime in Toronto. The front page is a very sure barometer of public interest and I shall be pleasantly surprised if the U. N. O. meeting makes it more than twice a week—unless of course there is a good healthy row between the delegations. If our people feel that way about it, what public support is U. N. O. getting in Bolivia and Bulgaria and the rest of the world.

And that brings us to the second of the two conditions for the success of this effort to make a new world in which international cooperation and law will take the place of national rivalry and force. We have this time, either voluntarily or through weakness handed over the task of preparing the peace terms to a handful of men representing the three big powers. You know the argument—if they cannot make peace among themselves what chance have the rest of us. It is about the silliest argument I ever heard. It just dodges the issue.

In a long life of reporting human error I have lost what tendency I ever had for hero worship, and I refuse to believe that any trinity of men, of different nationalities, with different political creeds and of different moral concepts, with at the best only a superficial knowledge of the immense problems that must be solved can find the right solutions. They disagreed in London, and in Moscow they have patched things up only by avoiding all the controversial issues. Some of these avoidances, and even some of the points of agreement, indicate that we are no further advanced in the morality of treaty making than we were when all the nations solemnly signed the Kellogg pact and forgot it, when Hitler and Mussolini signed the Munich agreement with Chamberlain and Daladier and tore it up before the ink was dry, when Ribbentrop, now on trial in Nuremberg, and Molotoff, still representing Soviet Russia, signed the agreement to divide Poland, to dispose of the independent countries of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and, by doing so, gave Hitler the security he needed on his eastern frontier before he could risk having to fight the western powers of Britain and France, who at least kept their word, not just to Poland, but to the principle that what has been established in law, by signed agreement, shall be maintained.

Excuse me if I seem somewhat pessimistic. But I have seen so many treaties made and broken during these last thirty years. I have seen so many grandiose schemes for universal this and that collapse that my confidence has been severely shaken.

In the old days, when international relations were conducted by Kings, even the worst of them, felt himself under a personal and religious obligation to keep his word when he signed a treaty. It was a matter of honor. Grotius in the concluding chapter of De Jure Belli ac Pacis appealed to "the duty of kings to cherish good faith scrupulously, first for conscience sake, and then also for the sake of the reputation by which the authority of the royal power is supported".

It is not a matter of opinion, but of historic fact, that our democratic governments, and those which call themselves democratic have not conspicuously "cherished good faith scrupulously". It was not a 17th or 18th century autocrat but a 19th century American democrat who proclaimed that silly slogan which puts nationalism above truth and honor: "My Country, may she be always right; but right or wrong, my country."

I like to think, and I feel that I am justified in thinking, that it is because our Ministers and people feel that the personal honour of the King is involved, that our British record for keeping our signed word stands without stain. We do not lightly enter into treaties, but we do not break or denounce them when we change governments. I sincerely pray that in the confusion and imponderables of these times we shall not be led into signing any engagements which it may prove impossible to keep.

There, very clearly, we come back to the wisdom of the advice of Mr. Churchill: "It is a mistake to look too far ahead. Only one link in the chain of destiny can be handled at will."

The danger, as he saw it, is that we should attempt too much. The greatness of his leadership in the war was that he went forward one sure step at a time. There were those who clamored for a second front, who opposed the African campaign because they thought that the whole allied effort should be accumulated for a direct attack through France. They were in a hurry to get things over. In the end perhaps that hurry led us into one of the complications of the present political situation, for that situation would have been much clearer if the British plan for a drive through Yugoslavia to Budapest and Vienna had been realised. We would have been in a stronger position in Eastern Europe.

And now it is just as important as it was during the war to keep our feet on the ground. What is the good of dreaming of a world organization, a super government—if in trying to reach it we destroy what is solid and proved and sound in our present system. The pivotal factor in the defeat of Germany was the decision of the British people to fight when they did, and their complete union and solidarity throughout the long struggle. Everything else that developed was incidental to that decision and that unity. Are we going to destroy it in order to try to set up a chimeric world government, which would, in reality be a government of all the little peoples by a few big ones, with the risk that if they quarreled among themselves, and power begets conflict, all the little peoples would be dragged into the fight. What would the independence of Canada and Australia and New Zealand and Eire and England be worth in such a system. It is rather for the rest of the world to copy the tremendous example and pattern which we have shown, of a free association of free peoples, than for us to abandon that freedom in order to secure peace under the tutelage of those whose ideas of freedom have not yet advanced as far as granting the right of habeas corpus to their own citizens, where a discredited government cannot be voted out of office.

I don't care who joins the British Commonwealth and Empire. Let them all come in and accept, as the only price of admission, the standards of conduct that we have set, that they should keep their given word, that they should allow freedom of speech, of assembly, of the press and of religious worship. In such a union everyone would be master of his own affairs as are all the countries of the Commonwealth, united only in allegiance to the common ideal of honor and freedom symbolized in the Crown.

This dream, if you like to call it so, of the expansion of the British system, is no more fantastic, and perhaps much less so, than some of the plans that are being put before us. Personally I would like to see Greece and Belgium and the Scandinavian countries and others which fought honorably against Hitler as members on the same footing as the rest of us. I would not exclude the return to allegiance of the United States, although they might tend to try to run things their way instead of ours. I would welcome back Hanover, which was happier, more liberal and more democratic during the 120 years when the King of England was King of Hanover than it has ever been since. We could establish habeas corpus and a decent party system of government, with ministerial responsibility, as William IVth did, and if they behaved themselves, give them Dominion status.

It is not a fantastic dream. In Eastern Europe Russia is building an Empire which is not, like ours, of free self-governing states but of satellites and subjects, like all the 14 states of the Soviet Union. Ontario and Alberta and all the other provinces of Canada have more freedom within the Confederation, as Canada and Australia have within the Commonwealth, than the Ukraine and Transcaucasia have in the Soviet Union. At least one never hears of them electing a Progressive Conservative or a Social Credit or a CCF government.

I do not criticize their system. Perhaps it is better suited to their people to be governed than to be self-governing. They may prefer discipline to orderly liberty. But I know that the people of London, who refused to surrender to the Nazi blitz, and the people of Canada who get in a passion if some old-fashioned uninformed Englishman ever refers to them as colonials, would never accept such a system.

By the mercy of God, and our own courage, we have escaped being subject peoples in a Nazi regime. Don't let us fritter away our independence of other peoples ideas of what is good for us. It is rather we who should proudly set the example of co-operation between equals.

"Only one link in the chain of destiny can be handled at will". The link that was forged in the furnace of these past six years, between the peoples of the British Commonwealth, was of pure gold, perfect in workmanship. We can be immeasurably proud of it. What a pity—what a disaster—it will be if through public indifference, through incompetence in high places, through weakness and illusion the next one should be only of brass or paper. It is not enough to have won the war. It is not enough to dream dreams of universal brotherhood. Our business now is to see to it that the Governments we have elected to represent us shall respect, and stubbornly defend against all pressure, those principles for which we fought, that there shall be honor between nations and that all shall have the right to freedom within the law.

"NEW INDIA"

AN ADDRESS BY

MR. M. R. AHUJA

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, January 24, 1946

MR. THOMPSON: Gentlemen, our guest of honour is no stranger to the Empire Club, in that shortly after his arrival in Canada four years ago, he joined this organization. It is therefore with a sense of pride that we today have the privilege of presenting to you one of our members.

Our speaker, who was born in the Province of Punjab, India, is a graduate of the Indian Universities. He is today an officer of the Government of India, serving in the Department of Commerce. Between 1934 and 1940, he was stationed in Milan, Italy and London, England as Trade Commissioner and in September, 1941, was appointed the first India Government Trade Commissioner to Canada.

Since his arrival in this country, in addition to his duties as Trade Commissioner, he was appointed as Government of India Adviser to the 26th Session of International Labour Conference, held at Philadelphia early in 1944 and, represented the Government of India at the 95th Session of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organization, held at Quebec in June last.

During the Fall of 1945, Mr. Ahuja was called back to India by his Government for consultation purposes and on his trip travelled some 42,000 miles, during which he toured India extensively, giving talks on Canada and trade possibilities between our two countries. It is not only necessary that the people of India hear more about Canada, but it is, I feel, equally as important that we in Canada hear more about India.

Not enough has been said about the great part India played in the war just ended; few realize that she provided an army of over 2,500,000, the largest volunteer force in history. In the reconquest of Burma, where over a million troops representing 9 different countries were used, over 700,000 of them were provided by the Indian Army. The Indian troops served with great distinction in both the African Campaign and Italy and, were awarded more Victoria Crosses than any other army of the British Commonwealth.

Today we are to hear an address on "New India" and, it is with great pleasure that I now give you Mr. M. R. Ahuja.

MR. M. R. AHUJA: I am deeply grateful to you, Sir, for your warm welcome and for the very nice things you have said about me. I am fully conscious of the honour that is mine in speaking to this distinguished gathering and, being equally conscious of my own limitations and of what I am about to say, my one fear is that you may afterwards regret half of the good things you have just said. I must, however, make it clear that any views that I may erpress are entirely mine and for which I alone am responsible.

Sir, I am here to-day in response to your very kind invitation extended to me just before I left for India on a flying visit. It was indeed a flying visit, for during the three months that I was away from Canada I covered more than 40,000 miles around the two hemispheres, flying almost all the way by all kinds of aircrafts. To sight one's own beloved land after an absence abroad of more than four years is enough to cause excitement to any living soul but to witness, as I did, all across that ancient land the birth during the interval of a new nation already on the march with heads high—proud of its great past and confident of its still greater future—is enough to awaken any dead soul. Sir, it is of this great dawn that I have witnessed breaking, after a long, long mournful night, of this renascent light, of this long-awaited but destined spring, of this country of four hundred million souls no more timid nor cringing, it is of this New India inspired by the past and enlightened by the present, that I am here to speak to you to-day.

Sir, it is true that I spent only but nine bare weeks in India but isn't it equally true that more books on India have been written by men and women who took a few days or a few weeks "Cook's Tour" of India than by those who stayed long enough to understand, appreciate and respect her ancient culture and her deep understanding and study of the spiritual and cultural values of life. During the sixty-five odd days that I spent in India, I was almost constantly on the move, visiting and talking to businessmen, industrialists, financiers, statesmen, soldiers and scientists in almost every town of importance, both in British India and the Indian States, sometimes attending as many as nine meetings a day—interrupted only by sporadic visits to New Delhi for consultations with the various Departments of the Government of India. I gave the Indian Mercantile Community a brief account of my stewardship of their interests in Canada; I told them of the prospects of postwar trade between our two countries and what they must do to see it expand and enlarge to our mutual advantage. I made it plain to them that the trade is a two-lane traffic and in trying to increase the load on our side of the road we must follow the rules of the road and keep clear the traffic moving also in the opposite direction. I told them of Canada's achievements, her great desire to trade with us, and the deep sympathy of her people for our hopes and our aspirations. But while I told them all this and more and discussed with them their problems and difficulties, I also learnt from them of their sufferings and their fears, as well as of their new courage and fearless determination. I learnt, at first hand, of the many exploits and victories, as well as privations and sufferings in the field of war, of the over two million voluntary Indian soldiers whose fierce gallantry and keen martial spirit won the Indian armies innumerable decorations and awards, including no less than 33 Victoria Crosses. These heroes on their return home in towns and villages may not yet see India of their dreams but they cannot fail to see that their ageless India, once Empress of the sovereign past, is no more uncertain about her future—she is now awake, aspiring and on the threshold of stirring and far reaching economic, social and political changes. India is no longer "a static society in a dynamic world" but a world force that must and shall have its rightful place in the East as in the West. Illiteracy, ignorance, ill health and poverty that have sapped and sucked India's life for innumerable years must be fought and conquered not to-morrow but now. Universal, free and compulsory primary education for all, with promise of high school and university, or higher technical education, for the more deserving, constitute only one of the ambitious and revolutionary changes that are being introduced as part of the postwar reconstruction schemes. Free hospitalization, establishment of health centres, medical clinics and maternity welfare centres are to be provided for the poverty and disease stricken millions. India's communications and travelling facilities are to be rapidly expanded so as to connect and closely knit together the large towns with the villages and the hamlets scattered all over the country. To achieve these and other ambitious programmes, India's national wealth must be increased commensurate with her vast resources and large manpower—wealth which shall provide for a high and stable level of employment and raise the utterly low standard of living. Although steps are being taken to increase agricultural production and to reorganize India's ancient and traditional cottage industries to meet modern requirements, it is fully realized that in order to achieve a balanced economy India must undertake an extensive development of modern and up-to-date industries. India is determined to industrialize and the reasons are not hard to understand. She also has all the essentials necessary for modern industrial development. She has natural resources rivaling in variety and extent with those of the United States and the Soviet Union. She has emerged from the war a creditor nation. Her prewar heavy sterling debt has almost been wiped out and she has accumulated sterling credits amounting to more than four billion dollars. She has the heredity of skilled craftsmanship, handed down from the days when Indian manufactures occupied a prominent place in the world of commerce—when Indian calicoes, silks and muslins were the rage of the fashionable European world, and Indian steel was used to forge the famous blades of Damascus. The present war has demonstrated in unmistakable terms that under modern conditions a country without highly developed industries has no political future.

Sir, the idea of industrialization which has been a fond hope and a gradually increasing reality for many years, to-day holds first place and plans and projects, both short and long-term, are forging ahead with all possible speed. Industrialization of India is as inevitable and as necessary as the rising of the sun and it cannot be stopped. Industrialization is necessary because it is the only means to provide its teeming masses with two meals a day. India has no ulterior purpose in harnessing her vast natural resources and developing her industries. All that India desires are the ways and means to gather from the bounty of the world a fair share of the world's goods and services, subject only to a policy of peaceful and harmonious co-operation with the rest of the Empire and the world. Prosperity and peace are indivisible and complimentary and India must be prepared to take her rightful place in the modern industrial world if peace and prosperity are to be the common heritage of man both in the West and in the East. A free, progressive and prosperous India is sure to prove a bastion of democracy and a mainstay of our expanding world economy in and outside the Empire. Canada as a sister nation can and must, therefore, help India in her industrialization (1) by supplying the much needed capital goods, (2) by setting up wherever possible and mutually advantageous, industries in India in joint partnership with Indian capital and management, (3) by providing technical skill and knowledge, and (4) by training Indian technicians and students in Canadian industry. New India does not believe in isolation and she is anxious to know and to co-operate with Canada as with the rest of the Empire. India is looking farther afield and beyond her own horizons. Realizing the necessity for the promotion of goodwill between our two countries, a Canada Institute has recently been founded in India and the Government of India Information Services are being extended to Canada by the attachment to the office of the India Government Trade Commissioner of an Indian Information Officer, who has already arrived on this continent and who will take up his duties early next month. I am looking forward to the establishment in Canada of an India Institute which may help to create a better understanding amongst Canadians of India's problems and her aspirations.

Sir, while I am appealing to the Canadian industry for co-operation, I trust I will not be abusing your hospitality if, in conclusion, I were to make use of this platform to beg of the Canadian press, the Canadian statesman, the Canadian man and woman all over this great Dominion, for understanding and appreciation of New India, her present struggle and her future hopes. May I, in the name of and for the sake of Empire solidarity and unity, which I assure you in all earnestness is as dear to me as I know it is to you, pray to you to try to see through the maze of misrepresentation, misunderstanding and misconception, often deliberately built around India, and to refrain from saying or doing that which may at this crucial moment of our history, when the fate of India hangs in the balance, harm the very interest so dear to our hearts. New India is young and the youth is impatient, restless and extremely sensitive. Let us, those who genuinely and sincerely believe in the growing greatness of the Empire and what it stands for, show by our actions and precept, when tempers may run high in some quarters, that the road to success and greatness lies in tolerance and in helpful understanding of what is good in the other and not by enlarging upon what may be bad, or what we may consider to be bad. I have no hesitation whatsoever in confessing that in the New India

I have tried to describe to you there are naturally, many faults and weaknesses and there are also included in it many a man who may not see eye to eye with me. But I do say this without fear of contradiction that India's problems, which are often described as insurmountable and her weaknesses which are often deliberately capitalized, are basically no different from many other countries, including Canada. India's minority and majority problems of which one hears so much are definitely more political in nature than of any other origin and these are certainly not confined to India alone. I cannot think of a more glaring example of lack of understanding of this so-called problem than is evident from the comments that recently appeared in the Canadian press generally on the results of elections to the Indian Legislative Assembly, which were announced early this month. For example, in commenting on the fact that almost all the non-Moslem seats had been won by the Congress Party, and almost all the Moslem seats by the Moslem League, the press generally tried to interpret this result as showing that the cleavage along racial and religious lines could hardly have been sharper. Sir, I wish that the press, in all fairness, should have at the same time tried to explain to its readers the fact that under the present constitution not only the elections in India are not held on basis of universal adult sufferings as in Canada but generally the voters, who constitute only about 11 per cent of the total population, must vote according to their religion. A comparable requirement in Canada would, for example, mean that a Roman Catholic must vote only for a Roman Catholic and I leave it to you to guess who would be elected to the Catholic seats, and the interpretation of such a result upon Canadian body politics.

India's social problems, including her so-called caste systems, of which the missionary and the clergy are particularly happy to make a political playground while professing christian charity, although primarily the curse of poverty, are yet in basic structure and form no different to the class and colour distinctions that one witnesses in other countries. I admit that there are extremist elements in India who talk and behave as if they would have nothing to do with the Empire and the Dominions if they had their way but, Sir, isn't it equally true that, while professing equality and liberty for all, there also still exist in the Empire and in the Dominions "Colonel Blimp" and his kind who refuse even to the use of the word "Commonwealth" lest its very mention should in any way weaken the Empire by invoking in the hearts of the peoples outside the Dominions any aspiration to share perhaps one day in the wealth and the fortunes of the Empire in common with the others. Sir, suspicion begets suspicion, and I beg that in our references to India we should try to think and speak of a sister nation, if not an elder sister who had a great and honourable past, at least as a younger sister who is soon to come of age. I venture to speak in the name of the Empire and of the Commonwealth because I sincerely and honestly believe that the British Empire is based on moral foundations, on certain verities of life, on fairness, on justice and equality, on promoting the happiness of humanity as a whole and not of any particular section or group of people. While I believe this, I also equally and strongly believe that so long as these loftier ideals continue to animate the British peoples and the peoples of the Dominions, of Canada, New India will be only too willing to be an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations and the Empire.

Sir, I, for one, have no fears whatsoever about India's future, her rightful place in the Empire and in the World. I know my compatriots and have the fullest confidence in them. I also know my British friends, their love of fair play and sense of justice and, above all, I have infinite faith in the judgment and foresight of that great, simple man who, at the present critical moment of India's history, represents the Crown in India—Field Marshal Lord Wavell, Viceroy and Governor-General of India. I had the proud privilege and honour of partaking his gracious hospitality and I can tell you, without exaggeration, that no one I know embodies in greater measure all that is true and noble in the British character than this distinguished soldier and God-fearing statesman.

Sir, a strong, united, democratic and prosperous India shall prove a pillar of strength to the Empire and a bulwark against expansion of any ideologies other than those guaranteeing peace and freedom of the world. This is my belief, my conviction, my creed and my religion.

"AID TO RUSSIA THROUGH THE PERSIAN GULF"

An Address By

BRIGADIER SIR GODFREY RHODES, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.

Chairman: The First Vice-President,
Colonel F. F. Arnoldi, D.S.O.

Thursday, January 31, 1946

Col. Arnoldi: We are fortunate indeed in having as our guest speaker, a Canadian of great distinction, who, born in Victoria, B. C., was educated at Trinity College School, Port Hope and the Royal Military College, Kingston, Ontario.

At R. M. C. he distinguished himself by being first in his class, Battalion Sgt.-Major and winning the Sword of Honour. Amongst the many awards he received when graduating with honours, was the Governor-General's Gold Medal.

On graduation, he had his choice of the commissions offered by the Imperial Army and elected to take that of the Royal Engineers, commencing his service in India. During the war of 1914-18, he saw service in France and the Near East. Following the collapse of Turkey he was sent immediately to Constantinople to take over the Turkish State Railways and later the Bulgarian Lines.

He was awarded the C.B., C.B.E., and D.S.O., mentioned in despatches three times, as well as receiving the Legion of Honour, by France; the Order of the Redeemer, by Greece; the Order of the White Eagle, by Siberia. For his outstanding services, His Majesty the King bestowed a Knighthood on him in 1934.

His peacetime occupation is that of transportation and prior to World War II, he held the posts of Chief Engineer and later General Manager of the Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours, which organization was behind the successful Abyssinian Campaign, following which in 1941, he was asked to go to Iran, to inaugurate the "Aid to Russia" service and as the result of his accomplishments, he is to-day referred to as "The Saviour of Stalingrad".

In 1942, he became Deputy Quartermaster General Movements and Transportation for the Persia and Iraq Force with headquarters at Bagdad and will, to-day, tell us something of his work there. In March, 1945, he was appointed Regional Port Director of Calcutta, under the Government of India.

With the dispute between Iran and Russia so much in the news, it is indeed timely that we should to-day hear from one who has played such a prominent part in Iranian affairs during the war period.

It is with great pleasure that I now present to you, Brigadier Sir Godfrey Rhodes, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., who is another of those men who have gone into our Empire Forces from the Royal Military College at Kingston and won great distinction. He will address us on the subject—"Aid To Russia Through The Persian Gulf".

BRIG. SIR GODFREY RHODES: "Aid to Russia" through the Persian Gulf occupied a period of approximately four years while the time at my disposal today to tell you about it is only some forty minutes. I am, however, anxious to give you a general picture of what was done and of the conditions in which it was done, and in particular, I want to describe, in some detail, the British share of this work, as that perhaps has not received the same publicity on this side of the water as the very important American share of the Allied war effort in this area.

Perhaps I should begin by reminding you that Germany attacked Russia without warning and, of course, contrary to treaty, in June, 1941. The British Empire at that time was fighting the war single-handed and England herself was facing the possibility of direct invasion. She was struggling to recover from the shock of Dunkirk and making strenuous efforts to re-equip her armies. At the same time, she had the Middle East campaigns under Wavell on her hands and the anxieties of Hong-Kong and Singapore. I mention these few facts merely to remind you at this later date, that the Old Country and the Dominions and Empire were pretty hard pressed at the time Russia was forced onto their side by the German attack;—perhaps the biggest mistake that Hitler made in the whole war.

Our very far-seeing and courageous Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, however, did not hesitate for a moment. He was ready to help anybody who would fight Hitler, and he knew that Russia would want help badly in the early stages. In spite of the serious preoccupation elsewhere and the urgent need for war material of all kinds, the British Cabinet at once decided to open up a route through Persia to Russia. Within a few weeks locomotives and cars and railway material of all kinds were withdrawn from the hard pressed English railways and loaded into ships, and despatched on their long sea journey round the Cape to the Persian Gulf. At the same time, arrangements were made to send out some Senior Railway officers to Persia by air, and other Railway operating troops by sea. In the light of subsequent events, I cannot refrain from remarking that this was one of the most far-seeing decisions of the war, taken at a time of the highest stress, when every man and every item of material were urgently needed in half a dozen other places at the same time.

Now let us look at the map in front of us so that we can appreciate more fully the magnitude of the task that Britain had undertaken. The first thing that appeals to us is the distances involved. I have already mentioned the sea journey via the Cape. The Mediterranean was closed to us at that time and the Cape route, under convoy conditions, took up to three months. The internal distances in Iraq and Iran, or Persia, as I shall call it, are also very considerable. For example, Cairo to Bagdad is some 800 miles, Bagdad to Tehran, 450 miles, and the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea, is also 450 miles, all as the crow flies. Actual travel distances in this area, except by air, were, of course, very much greater, frequently double, owing to the difficult nature of the country generally. Equivalent distances in Canada and Europe will no doubt readily occur to you. Distances are great with corresponding difficulties and delays in communications of all kinds. In addition, there are some high mountains in Persia, well over 12,000 feet, which have to be negotiated by road and railway. In the South, on the plains around Bagdad, the temperature in the hot season is very high, 120 degrees being common in Bagdad and up to 140 degrees in a place like Andimesk. On the other hand, in the cold weather, heavy snow and ice conditions occur in the mountain areas. So you see operating conditions for climatic reasons alone were not easy. Perhaps the hot weather conditions were the most difficult to contend with, especially when it is remembered that many of our men had to live in tents in the early stages.

Now, a word or two about the Trans-Persian Railway itself, as I found it when I flew to the country from Nairobi in October, 1941. As you see from the map, it extends from the Port of Bundershahpur over the plains to Andimesk, near Dizful. Then it climbs up 1.50% grades round severe curves and through over 140 long tunnels through the mountains to Tehran, the capital of Persia and headquarters of the Railway. From there the line bifurcates into two branches, one leading north-west towards Tabriz, and the other north-east and north to the Caspian Sea at Bundershah. The line is standard 4′ 8½″ gauge and well built from an engineering point of view. In fact, sections of it, patricularly over the Elburz mountains in the north, compare in magnitude of engineering effort with some of the spectacular sections of the C. P. R. through the Rockies. In this section, which rises over 8,000 feet, there are many long tunnels, sharp curves and rising grades up to 2.5%. I wish I had some photos here to show you. The Railway was built under the driving directions of the late Shah, who though a Dictator and tyrant of the worst type, at least got things done regard-less of opposition or physical difficulty. He employed a Swedish Engineering firm to direct and supervise the work, and the line was broken up into lots which were let out as contracts to many international firms. It was completed and opened to traffic in 1937, just two years before the outbreak of the war. It is interesting to note here that the Railway was financed entirely out of local revenue obtained from oil royalties and taxation on imports such as sugar, tea, cotton goods, etc. These taxes were a great hardship on the poor agricultural section of the people. It is estimated that the line cost the equivalent of some Thirty Million Pounds in English money. While the line was well and soundly constructed, it was equipped and staffed only for a comparatively light traffic. As the time of our arrival in the country, it was estimated that only some 200-300 tons a day of civil traffic were being transported up country in addition to oil and railway supplies. On a new railway of this kind, too, it will be realized that the staff would be very weak both in numbers and ability, in spite of the fact that a number of foreigners had been retained in the senior grades to help work the railway.

In addition to the Railway, there was a considerable mileage of gravel roads. These were not well maintained and were often badly aligned, with sharp curves and heavy grades and inadequate bridges and water openings. In the mountain regions they were frequently closed for long periods in winter by snow.

I hope this brief outline will give you some idea of the problem ahead of us. I should perhaps also remind you that the country had been largely under German influence and that the British and Russians had, in fact, waged a short war of six days against Persia and had finally occupied the country. Obviously, we could not afford to run any risks of damage to the vital oil refineries at Abadan. We had to depose the late Shah and put his son on the throne and negotiated a tri-partite treaty whereby the Persian Government promised to support the Allies and place all her transport facilities and roads at our disposal. While we had difficulty with some individuals, and, of course, all enemy spies and organizations had to be searched out and dealt with, it may be said that the Persian Government made a genuine attempt to carry out its treaty obligations. As any rate, I received every co-operation from the various Ministers of Communications and his Railway Staff during my stay in the country.

In order that the general situation in Persia and Iraq will be clear to you, I should explain that when Rashid Ali rebelled and attacked the British in Bagdad earlier in 1941, India despatched the 10th Army to deal with the situation there and to safeguard the oil fields in Persia. Incidentally, another Canadian, Brig. Sir Frederick Carson, C.B.E. (ex-cadet R.M.C. and now head of the Montreal Locomotive Works) was Director of Transportation, 10th Army, with Headquarters at Bagdad. My Persian organization was quite separate but, of course, we worked in the closest touch with the 10th Army and Brig. Carson, and were much indebted to them for help and assistance at all times. Later, when the German attack through Georgia developed, it looked for a time as if Iraq, Persia and Turkey would become a battle area. It was therefore decided to strengthen the British forces in these areas and a new Command called Persia and Iraq Force (PAIFORCE) was formed in September, 1942, with Headquarters at Bagdad. My Persian Transportation organization was absorbed in this command and I became D.Q.M.G. PAIFORCE, with Brig. Carson as my Director of Transportation for Iraq and Persia. I apologise for this diversion and will now return to my story.

As I have already stated, I arrived by air, at the beginning of October, 1941. A nucleus of a Transportation office had already been set up in Tehran and some half dozen senior railway officers were flown out to meet me. Our first job, of course, was to make contact with our opposite numbers on the railway and to make a survey with them of its capacity and to estimate our immediate requirements. My instructions told me that the capacity target to aim at was 2400 tons per day by the end of

June, 1942, and explained that locomotives and cars and three companies of operating troops were already on the way to me or were about to sail. Incidentally, two of the companies did not reach us until the end of the year, as they had been diverted to Singapore and only narrowly escaped capture there. Time does not allow me to describe in detail all the steps taken to increase the capacity of the railway, but I want to give you an outline of what had to to be done. One of the biggest difficulties, of course, was the language question. Through the kindness of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, we were able to publish quickly a small dictionary of useful words and phrases, which helped our men and the Persian staff to understand one another. Some of the senior Persian officials spoke French and a few, English, so we managed to get along. A complete new traffic rule book, however, had to be written in both languages to ensure safe operation of trains under the severe traffic conditions to which I have referred. While stations and crossing loops were adequate for the small Persian civil traffic, they were quite inadequate for the intensive traffic for which we were planning. Many new stations therefore had to be designed and fitted in where grades and space permitted. This was not always easy in such heavy country. In addition, extensive marshalling yards had to be designed and constructed at strategic traffic points such as the ports, Andimesk, (where the Plains section merged into the mountain section) Ahwaz, Tehran. etc. Water supplies for locomotives had to be augmented everywhere, and this was not easy as Persia on the whole is a dry country. Communications on the railway were completely inadequate and very elaborate train control equipment had to be ordered and later installed. With the arrival of our British operating units the personnel position was eased but we still had to rely very largely on the Persian staff who, as I have explained, were far from being efficient. However, we preached continuously collaboration and cooperation and we got a surprisingly good response on the whole.

When the locomotives and cars from England began to arrive, arrangements had to be made to erect them and bring them into use. This was a headache all on its own, as facilities were scarce and tools and equipment absent. The locomotives were of a type unknown to Persian staff. Most of them had to be converted to oil burning and fitted with Westinghouse brakes. They had been overhauled before leaving England but, being second-hand, developed various troubles of one kind or another. For example, the super-heater elements began to fail and there were few spares in the country.

One of our biggest headaches was caused by the failure of the injectors to deal with feedwater at a high temperature. I have already told you that the temperature at Andimesk sometimes reached 140 degrees. Naturally, the feedwater in the engine tenders got very hot and the injectors sent out with the engines were not designed for this heat. Special hot-water injectors had to be flown out from England and elsewhere but until they arrived we had continual trouble.

I think I must mention another trouble because I remember we thought at the time it was an unfair one on top of our other problems. The braking system on the Persian Railways was of the sketchiest for a mountain railway. Some proportion of the rolling stock was fitted with pressure brakes, some was piped only, some had hand brakes operated by brakesmen riding in a little cab on each car, and some were not braked at all. All trains had to have a high proportion of braked stock owing to the heavy grades, to prevent runaways and breakaways. Sometimes the brakesmen would set their brakes hard on at the top of a long grade and then go to sleep, if they were comfortable, or go to a caboose if they were cold. Anyway, the result was the same, flats on the tires or perhaps, in bad cases, grooves as big as my fist. So you will understand that when we ordered more cars from America we specified air brakes. That was all right, but we did not mention the couplings. These, in Persia, are of the link and screw type, and the War Office sent over the drawings of the type in use, to be copied. So far so good, but our American friends in their zeal to conserve steel, thought the couplings were unduly strong, and re-designed them with a weaker section. The result, however, was disastrous as these couplings failed to hold the cars, and there was grave danger of breakaways in consequence. Some 3000 new couplings had to be ordered hurriedly, and in the meantime, care had to be taken to keep these cars at the rear of every train, which was not always easy to arrange without considerable switching, causing serious delays to trains.

I think I must mention one other difficulty and then I must break away from these technical details. I have mentioned tunnels. These were often long and curved and, in some cases, spirals. In consequence ventilation was very poor. In our effort to increase capacity, we wanted longer trains. That meant two or more engines per train. However, when we found the crew of the second engine asphyxiated when they emerged from a tunnel, we had to think again, even though they eventually revived. We realized that if bigger trains were required we would have to have Diesel-electrics which were in very short supply and would have to come from America.

Before coming to the next stage of the story, I must mention briefly the ports and the roads and the part our Russian Allies played.

The only port where goods and stores could be handed direct to the railway was Bundershahpur on the Persian Gulf where deep water (30 feet) could be obtained. This had been built on a mud flat and consisted of a temporary timber jetty capable of taking two smallish ships only, at a time. Its capacity was therefore strictly limited. Plans were immediately made to have a screw-pile steel jetty constructed to take three more vessels, together with lighterage facilities. The contract for this work was given to a Calcutta firm experienced in driving screw piles by electric capstan. At the same time, the yards serving the port were completely redesigned and enlarged and cranes were provided. It was agreed with the War Office that one port would not be adequate and

I was instructed to prepare a design for a two-berth port on the Shut-el-Arab River at Khorramshah below Basrah. To be on the safe side, I had the plans drawn for six berths in case extensions were required later. The contract for the two berths was given to an American firm, Messrs. Foley Bros. who had brought out equipment and piles to help us. An 80 mile railway from Ahwaz was also built across the plain to serve the new port when ready.

Now I must refer to the share in this project which our Russian friends undertook. As all the stores were destined for the Russian Army they had to make arrangements to take delivery at the Caspian ports and at rail heads in North Persia. In addition, by agreement with our Foreign Office, they also undertook responsibility for the operation of the two northern branches out of Tehran, in conjunction with the Persian Management. This, of course, meant divided control in the operation of the railway and introduced special difficulties as a consequence, but it lightened our operating job considerably, and enabled us to concentrate our staff on the lower section. We made many Russian friends in the course of several years close contact and collaboration with them. I need hardly say that the addition of a third language did not make the problem any easier.

Finally, I must refer briefly to the Road system. The British Army engineers, in co-operation with the Persian Government, undertook to improve, surface and repair many miles of roads which might be required for military operational purposes. The United Kingdom Commercial Corporation created by the British Government to purchase raw materials, undertook to organize a road service with Persian trucks and drivers to supplement the railway capacity. This extra assistance proved extremely valuable until replaced by the Americans, as I shall explain shortly.

In these various ways the capacity of the railway was being steadily increased, and by July, 1942, we had practically reached our target and all improvement works were well in hand. Then we received a bomb-shell. Instead of 2400 tons a day, we were asked to prepare a scheme for a much bigger project, namely, 6000 tons a day, by railway and a further 6000 tons by road, or a total of 12,000 tons a day. This was quite a different matter, involving the ordering of many more locomotives and cars and stores and, of course, more personnel. Clearly, Mr. Churchill's original appreciation had been more than justified, but now the Russian need had grown much greater. Accordingly, we prepared our estimates and sent them in, including a demand for 60 Diesel-electric locomotives for the difficult tunnel section. So important had this project now become that Mr. Churchill himself came out to Tehran with his advisers to discuss the matter with us on the spot. I had to tell him that a capacity such as that now demanded could only be obtained if the equipment and personnel outlined by us, could be found and delivered quickly. Half-measures would only lead to chaos and failure. Could British Empire resources meet the demand? In any case, the Diesel-electrics and their maintenance staff would have to come from America in addition to most of the other equipment. So Mr. Churchill, after careful consideration, decided to ask Mr. Roosevelt to undertake the new task. This request was accepted readily. American staff officers came out to investigate the position and to check our estimates with us. These were generally accepted except that the Americans, with their larger manpower, were able to budget for a much larger force than we had dared to contemplate. So the process of handing over commenced early in 1943, and by April 1st of that year the Persian Transport baby was safely in their hands. The British Army commander-in-chief of the Persia and Iraq Command, (PAIFORCE) remained responsible for priorities in case of military operations and for civil supply and security so that I, in my new capacity of D.Q.M.G. (Movements and Transportation) at Headquarters, Bagdad, retained all our contacts with the Americans and the Russians on Transport matters. In addition, we continued to operate the Iraq line of communications through the medium of the Iraq Civil Railway Organization.

The Americans carried out their contract most efficiently and brought in a complete technical railway and road operating and engineering staff, together with the necessary Army Administrative staff, totalling, I believe, nearly 30,000 men, all under a Major-General. The results of their work have been published fairly recently in considerable detail in their own press so that it is unnecessary for me to repeat them here. I would, however, like to take this opportunity to say how much we all enjoyed working with our American colleagues. We have all made many friends among them. As you have read recently in the press, they have all now withdrawn from Persia. They handed back the railway to us and we immediately passed it on to full Persian control. We were very gratified to find, as time went on, that all our plans for works and extensions, including the six berth port at Khorramshah, which was eventually built by the Americans, proved adequate and suitable for the enlarged target and were only altered in minor detail, if at all, by our successors in office.

Now, you will ask what has this enormous effort, which I have so inadequately described, achieved?

Our combined best month was July, 1944, when 300,000 tons of stores of all kinds were delivered to the Russians in North Persia, or an average of 10,000 tons a day—not far off the target figure of 12,000 tons. The full target could have been handled had it offered. From that month, Russia's needs decreased, and our capacity was never filled. By the end of March, 1945, when I left Bagdad for Calcutta, a grand total of no less than five million tons of stores of all kinds had been handed over to the Russians. How these stores were used, we have no direct information. A great part of them were supplied from America under lend-lease arrangements. We do know, however, that the valiant Russian Armies did succeed in driving the enemy from their soil and back to Berlin. I believe, too, that Mr. Stalin once stated publicly that without this "Aid" through the Persian Gulf, he would not have been able to save Stalingrad. What better evidence do we need?

So, not only do we believe that useful results have been achieved but we believe that this Allied project has provided one more example of Inter-Allied co-operation in war-time, which surely it ought to be possible to reproduce in peace-time. We all, too, have made many friendships—Russian, American and Persian, which we hope to renew some day, when freedom of movement in the world is once more restored.

There is much that I have had to leave out in this short talk, especially the more human facts of how the men lived in the heat of the Southern plane; how young and comparatively inexperienced youths accepted cheerfully responsibilities which would have tested older, experienced train men; how the leaking of oil from axle boxes on a severely super-elevated curve, nearly brought all trains to a standstill; and in spite of all these adverse conditions, how very few accidents there were. Nor have I mentioned the remarkable effort (by the Americans chiefly, but also partially by the British Army) whereby thousands of aeroplanes and trucks were erected and delivered to the Russians. All these, and other matters of interest you must read for yourselves in the war histories, which will some day be published.

The subject of my address is now past history;—interesting, no doubt, and a source of justifiable pride and satisfaction to those who carried it out but valueless to us today unless we learn some lesson from it. We all hope to find some way to avoid wars in the future, with their terrible waste and destruction, especially as the next one will bring extermination. But the thought I would like to leave in the minds of the members of the Empire Club of Canada and of all public leaders in Canada, is this: How can we bring about, in peace-time, the same universal keenness and zeal, the same self-sacrifice and heroism, the same unselfish service and comradeship, the same fight for an ideal of life, that we achieve so grandly in a great war for freedom. The world is already looking to Canada for leadership in many directions. Can we give the answer to that question by our example now?

"CONDITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA"

An Address By

HON. DR. P. R. VILJOEN, M.C.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, February 7 1946

Mr. Thompson: Gentlemen—as you know, the motto of this club is "Canada and a United Empire". In an effort to promote Empire Unity, we continue to invite to our platform the senior representatives of the other units that make up our great Commonwealth. These gentlemen, through their speeches, interpret their Nations to Canada, thus creating greater understanding and good-will so necessary, not only for the Empire alone but for the world as a whole.

Two weeks ago, this club was favoured with an excellent address along these lines from the India Government Representative, Mr. M. R. Ahuja, who has kindly graced our head table again today. Another great unit of Empire, of which, like India, I feel we in Canada know all too little, is South Africa and, we are to have the good fortune of hearing today from a leading official of that country.

Our guest of honour was born in South Africa, received his early education there, finishing his schooling in England and Switzerland. He was first employed as a Bacteriologist, later becoming a Professor at the University of Pretoria, following which he held a number of government posts, including that of Secretary of Agriculture and Forestry, for the Union of South Africa, which post he occupied for 12 years.

He has a war record of considerable distinction, having served in the South African War 1901-1902, with the Boer Commandos and with the British in the 1914-1918 World War, when he won the Military Cross. During the full period of the war just ended, he was Chairman of the National Marketing Council for the Union of South Africa.

In July last, his country paid him the great honour of selecting him as their first High Commissioner to any Dominion of the British Commonwealth.

It is indeed with great pleasure, that I now introduce to you, the Honourable Dr. P. R. Viljoen, M.C., High Commissioner in Canada for the Union of South Africa, who has chosen as the title of his address—"Conditions In South Africa".

HON. DR. P. I. VILJOEN: I have been in your great country for only a few months and as yet have seen very little of it and have had even less opportunity of meeting many of its people. I say this, because in my view it is essential for a representative of a foreign or commonwealth country to take the earliest opportunity of acquainting himself with the people and the country in which he has his temporary residence. I would have done so ere now, but under present conditions it takes a little time to get settled down and to become acclimatized. Excepting for some years in Europe as a student, I have lived all my life in the *temperate* climate of South Africa where, as far as weather conditions are concerned, one can move about easily and comfortably at all times of the year, where one can play golf and tennis all the year round! For such a one, your climate is a *temporary* handicap which I feel sure will be removed in a short time by acclimatization. Please do not think that I am criticizing your climate—I feel sure that its advantages are far greater than its disadvantages—I mentioned this merely as an excuse for my short-comings in not having travelled further and wider and thus acclimatizing myself at an earlier stage. I very nearly did take up temporary residence in Canada many years ago! I was born in the Transvaal Republic and as a youngster fought on the Republican side during the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902. To this I will come back later.

When, after only 4 years Great Britain adopted the extremely wise and statesmanlike policy of granting

Responsible Govt. to the old Transvaal Republic in 1906, it gained the confidence of many ex-Republicans under the leadership of such great statesmen as Gen. Louis Botha and Field Marshall Jan Smuts! That that confidence had not been misplaced has been amply proved by subsequent events—first during the Great War and then again in World War No. 2 when, on both occasions, the Transvaal and the rest of the Union stood firmly by Great Britain and her allies.

I have slightly wandered away from my point, but you will see in a minutes that this was necessary. In 1908 (only 6 years after the end of the Boer war) General Botha adopted another wise policy, namely, to select a number of young South Africans (and he continued this for several years) for study overseas. He sent them to English-speaking countries, to enable them to get to know the people and to come back to their own country and pass on to their own people the knowledge gained overseas. I was among the first batch of overseas students and left home with the intention of coming to Canada. Gen. Botha, however, had other plans! Because I had fought against the British 6 years previously, he thought it wise that I should proceed to England and learn to know the English people! It didn't take me long to find out that the British people were not as black as they had been painted! And another 6 years later I took up arms with the British in World War No. 1? And what a wonderful show they put up in World War No. 2 under that great leader, Winston Churchill!

Mr. President, you may think that these remarks are of too *personal* a kind, but nothing can illustrate so well the remarkable *historical background* of my young country and people. And you will agree with me that it will be of little use my trying to tell you something about South Africa unless I work in some of the historical aspects.

South Africa is a country of wide open spaces, and we who have lived there all our lives and have travelled fairly extensively in Europe have gained the impression that by comparison it is a very large country! However, my eyes were opened as soon as I arrived in Canada and discovered that it was quite a long distance to travel from Halifax to Ottawa! and that this was a mere flea bite when one had to undertake a journey from Ottawa to Vancouver.

Our *population* is about the same as yours—in numbers but not in composition—namely, 10½ million. Of this number, only about *2¼ million* are *whites* or of pure European descent, while the rest is made up of about 7¼ million Bantus or Blacks, ¾ million coloured or mixed blood and ¼ million Asiatics. Most of the Bantus are still very backward and uneducated when compared with European and Canadian standards; they still adhere largely to their tribal customs. Special Reserves of land have been set aside for them and there they are governed by their own Chiefs in terms of native law and customs. Normally, the men proceed to work during a portion of the year on the mines, industries, etc., and the wages so earned are used to supplement their meagre income from their small scale farming operations.

The coloured people belong to the skilled and semi-skilled class of workers and about half their number are employed in the towns while the other half work on farms.

The Asiatics or Indians were originally brought to the Union to work on sugar cane farms, and are still largely restricted to the one Province (Natal), but not as workers on sugar cane estates; many have entered commerce as shopkeepers, others make good waiters in hotels, etc. while large numbers engage in small scale farming operations such as the production of vegetables and sub-tropical fruits.

Our Bantu and coloured races, therefore, fall in the poorer undeveloped class, enjoy a low standard of living and have their own food and living habits. They are therefore not big consumers of industrial products and of the kind of foodstuffs that are being produced on a large scale to supply European consumers and for export to world markets.

From all this, it can be inferred that the initiative and capital investment required for the development of the country must be looked for very largely in the relatively *small* European population. They are also the governing class, as by Act of Union only Europeans can be elected to Parliament and the Senate, and the franchise is largely restricted to Europeans.

Our white population is of mixed European descent, about 40% being of British extraction and 60% of Dutch, French and Scandinavian, the Dutch predominating. Intermarriage has taken place to a considerable extent with the result that one often meets people with English names who can hardly speak any English, and vise versa. We fortunately also have a fair number of Scots who, like in so many other countries, have become leaders in commerce banking, the church, etc. Our country would certainly have been poorer without them! And I expect this is true of Canada and other parts of the Commonwealth.

From these few remarks on our population you will gather that we have to face a very difficult problem—I don't mean with our *Scots* friends! nor with racial differences among the European; these differences will solve themselves! I refer to the very large number of Bantus and the smaller number of coloureds and Asiatics.

It is true that for many years there has been no serious trouble between the governing European class and the native or Bantu people; this can largely be attributed to wise policy and sound administration. The natives remain very loyal and peaceful, but during recent years a problem of great social and economic importance has presented itself; it is namely this, that large numbers of uneducated natives have been moving to the towns, with their women following them in many cases. The problem is that they have moved out of peaceful rural areas away from their own tribal control into urban areas where the conditions are entirely different; where they have to fend for themselves, and where they are exposed to bad influnces which they are very often not able to resist. Housing difficulties are seriously aggravated and those natives who do not find employment immediately are likely to commit criminal offences.

These natives have always been free to work where and when they like; consequently, it is not easy for the State to interfere with their movements at this stage.

This migration of natives to the cities applies not only to residents of the Union, but also to those living in adjoining territories; obviously they are attracted to these cities by high wages and better working conditions in factories, etc.

The Union Govt. is doing all it can to meet the position and I have no doubt that a solution will be found; our Govt. has always taken the view that it was there to act as Trustee for the native races; in finding a solution of this problem it can therefore be relied upon to act in the best interests of the natives themselves. I mention this one problem as an illustration of the difficulties that have to be faced in a country like the Union with its mixed population. Canada and many other countries have no problem of this type.

This brings me to the Union of the 4 Provinces which took place exactly *8 years* after the end of the Anglo-Boer war; Union of 2 ex-Republics with 2 British Colonies, one of which (Natal) was almost entirely English-speaking. This Union was brought about as a result of remarkable statesmanship, in spite of racial differences and bitter feeling created by the Anglo-Boer war only 8 years earlier! Ever since then there has been steady and progressive development of the resources of the 4 Provinces. We have had, and still have, our *racial* and other difficulties, but I doubt whether many of our citizens would be found seriously to express the desire to revert back to pre-Union days! Even those who favour a Republican form of Govt.—and there are such in the Union—do not ask for the old Republics to be re-established but for the whole Union to change its Constitution. All this only goes to show that Union of our Provinces has been a great success!

At the moment there is talk of incorporating South West Africa into the Union as a 5th Province. As this matter is now before U. N. O. Conference, I do not wish to enlarge upon it. All I need say is that ever since the Mandate over this Territory had been given to the Union, it has enjoyed all the benefits that it could from its association with the Union; it has been administered for all practical purposes as part of the Union. Moreover, a large number of its inhabitants are Union citizens.

Coming now to economic development during the past few decades, I hardly have time to go into any detail. All I can do is to refer very briefly to the main industries:

A. *MINERAL DEVELOPMENT*:

(a) *Gold Mining*—has undoubtedly been our mainstay in the Union ever since gold was discovered on the Rand in 1886, and even now after some of the older have been practically worked out, the value of our gold production still amounts annually to a substantial figure. Fears had been expressed for some time that some of our gold mines might peter out within a few years, but our mining pople are now much more optimistic; not only are the older mines continuing in production but also new gold fields are being opened in the Orange Free State. I am sure the gold mining industry will continue for many years yet to be an enormous asset to the Union.

(b) *Production of Diamonds*—including those for industrial use, is still of major importance and likely to continue for many years.

(c) The Union has inexhaustible deposits of coal, and during the war years enormous quantities were mined and exported to assist in the war effort.

(d) Iron ore is plentiful and during recent years a very fine steel industry has been built up.

(e) The Union is very rich in other base minerals which have hardly been explored so far. Perhaps Canada would be interested particularly in such minerals as antimony, chrome, blue asbestos, corundum, manganese, mercy and vermiculite.

B. *AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT*:

Settlement in South Africa was started as an agricultural proposition, and to this day farm production is regarded as of the utmost importance for the welfare and future development of the Union. Although the Union is not richly endowed as an agricultural country, farming interests remain predominant. Nearly every Cabinet Minister has farming interests and many prominent business people have farms to which they can retire or proceed for short periods of relaxation

The main handicap is *uncertain rainfall*, with the occurrence at irregular intervals of very serious droughts. During the past six months or more the Union has experienced one of the worst droughts in living memory, resulting in enormous stock losses and hardship among large groups of people. The Union intended supplying huge quantities of food to Britain and the starving millions in Europe, but this drought has seriously interfered with that.

Like in so many younger countries, the Union has, by wrong farming methods and exploitation of its soil suffered serious losses from *soil erosion*, but the Govt. is taking drastic measures to remedy this state of affairs. In the interim between the two great wars, the Union concentrated on the production of certain products for the export market, but it is now realized that it would be far better to concentrate on the production of foodstuffs for its internal market, particularly those of protective value for its own people. Food habits which vary enormously among our population groups are difficult to change, but it is realised that a serious attempt must be made to improve the health of the people, particularly the native and coloured races. The Union will continue to produce for export such products as wool, hides and skins, fresh, dried and canned fruits, as well as sugar, wines and brandies. I feel sure that the Canadian market can absorb a great deal of these, but I do not wish to discuss that today.

C. *INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT*:

Up to World War I, South Africa had few manufacturing industries worth talking about. Since World War I, and especially during World War II, extensive development has taken place, and this is likely to continue. This development was of great value to the war effort, and at one stage the Union was spoken of as the *Repair* shop for the Middle East! It is realized that this development is of the utmost importance to the future welfare of the Union. At its recent Conference at Quebec, the F. A. O. of the United Nations strongly emphasized the fact that agricultural production and industrial development must go hand in hand; this policy has been endorsed and is being carried out by the Union Govt. Not only will industries assist to counteract unemployment, but they will will create increased consumer demand for our agricultural products.

D. *TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS*:

No country can develop its resources unless adequate provision is made for communications and transportation of its people and the goods they produce or require to import for their own use. In the Union we are not blessed, like Canada, with its wonderful waterways. We have to rely on road or rail transportation, and as far as overseas communications are concerned, we have had to use the ships of overseas countries; but we have provided excellent port and harbour facilities at all our main ports; one of the world's largest graving docks has now been completed at Cape Town.

In our country all railroads and harbour facilities are state owned and controlled by our Department of Transport; in addition, large fleets of motor lorries are owned and used as feeder services by the Railway Administration.

An extensive Air Service is also operated by our Transport Dept.; weekly air-services (to be converted later into a daily service) already operate between the Union and England; in addition, all long distance air travel within the Union and other parts of Africa is controlled by the State. I was pleased to see that direct air travel to North Amerira has been arranged with the United States authorities.

I hope that before very long travel facilities will be such that many Canadians will be able to visit the Union. Needless to say, they will receive a warm welcome.

UNION'S WAR EFFORT:

In view of the magnificent part played by Canada in the war, I cannot avoid saying a few words about the Union's effort. The first achievement was on the part of our great leader, Field Marshal Jan Smuts, who at the outbreak of war opposed a motion of neutrality in our Parliament, and succeeded in gaining a majority to declare war against Germany.

The second achievement was to organize an armed force from practically nothing and to manufacture the necessary war materials by converting peacetime factories for this purpose.

Purely by *voluntary* recruiting the Union was able to despatch substantial armed forces to East and North Africa and finally to Italy. By voluntary recruitment about 10% of the European population joined the forces, and this achievement is probably as good as that of any other country.

When the Mediterranean was closed, South Africa became of the utmost importance to the Allied Forces, as thousands of ships on the way to the Middle East and Asia had to call at our ports for provisions, repairs, etc. One shudders to think what would have happened if this southern route had been closed! Besides becoming a repair shop for the Middle East, feeding of the troops passing through our ports and provisioning the ships both for the forward and return voyages, was a tremendous undertaking! It can now be revealed that, during the years 1940 to 1944, 1,182,000 troops had to be dealt with at our ports. Needless to say, it was a serious drain on the food supplies of the Union, and at times the civilian population had to go short. But all this had been worthwhile, and the Union is proud of its achievements!

Coming now to *post-war developments,* I can be very brief:

(a) Our first task was to look after our returned soldiers. For this purpose, a special Department of Demobilization was set up. As happened elsewhere, we had great difficulty, mostly connected with transportation, to get our soldiers back as early as possible. Delays and consequent dissatisfaction among veterans have unfortunately occurred, but everything is now going more smoothly. I canot go into details of what we are doing for our veterans, excepting to state that our country owes them a great debt of gratitude and is doing everything possible to get them suitably settled in civilian occupations. Those who want further training are assisted to attend Universities, Agricultural and Technical Colleges; they receive preference in appointments to civil service posts; those who are suitably qualified and want to go farming are given plots of land under irrigation. In spite of housing shortages, demobilization is now proceeding fairly smoothly, and there can be no doubt that all veterans will be suitably placed within a very short time.

(b) This brings me to the serious *housing* problem which appears to be world wide. Owing to shortage of building materials, very little building (except for military purposes) took place during the war, with the result that the housing problem *has become most acute.* Special steps are being taken by the Union Govt. to expedite the construction of houses, and local authorities are being assisted financially and otherwise to carry out housing schemes.

Our Ministry of Health has been specially charged to look after this important matter, but shortage of skilled workers and building material is hampering operations.

(c) Our *Health Services* are to be greatly improved, and the Union Govt. are at the moment considering recommendations by a Royal Commission to provide *free* medical services and hospitalization to all citizens, including the Bantu races.

(d) *Improved nutrition* for the whole population, but especially for the lower income groups and the black and coloured races is one of the important post-war targets. There exists a great deal of malnutrition among sections of the population, partly due to ignorance, incorrect food habits and mal-distribution of food supplies—all faults that must be corrected, but that will require time and patience to achieve.

In this connection, I may mention a novel form of *National War Memorial* now under consideration in the Union. Instead of having a "dead" memorial, the Union is contemplating a "living" monument in the form of a "Health Foundation", to the costs of which the whole nation will be asked to subscribe. Its purpose will be the establishment of a *Nutritional Research Institute* for the investigation of nutritional standards, especially among the groups previously referred to, for the education of all sections of the population in sound food habits, for the institution of *scholarships* for research in all fields relating to the promotion of health and prevention of disease, for the training of personnel for the national health service, and in support of any other projects having for their object the promotion of the health of the people. A truly wonderful National War Memorial—one that should bring untold benefits to the population of the Union!

(e) To improve the nutrition of the people, food of the right kind and in sufficient quantity has to be provided. In order to do this, our whole agricultural policy has to be changed; instead of producing for export, we will have to concentrate on the production of *protective foods* to meet the nutritional requirements of our own people in the first instance. Furthermore, our farming systems will have to be changed in such a way as to protect the fertility of our land and to counteract the evils of soil erosion. Measures for the conservation of our soil and water resources will cost millions of pounds, but it is a task the Union Govt. is determined to carry through.

(f) I have already referred to our manufacturing industries, and can only repeat that the Union Govt. is fully alive to their importance in stabilizing our national economy. Every assistance will be given to the expansion of existing industries and the establishment of new ones, provided always that they are run efficiently and fit into the general scheme of striking a proper balance between primary and secondary industries.

(g) Our Prime Minister has recently placed a great deal of emphasis on the urgent need of *increasing our European population* by immigration, and this will be actively followed up as soon as our war veterans have become properly established. Meanwhile, a scheme of assisting refugee orphans is under way.

There is no doubt that for the proper development of the resources of the Union an increased *European* population is of the utmost importance.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen, this brings me to the end of a rather long, disjointed story; I trust that I have not bored too many of you, and that my efforts in telling you something of the Union may prove to be of some interest and value to some of you. My remarks had necessarily to cover a wide field, and I hope you will forgive me if I made it too wide. I am extremely grateful to you and members of your Society for giving me this opportunity to tell you something about my own country, and above all, to meet such a representative gathering of Canadians. The people of the Union have the greatest respect and regard for the people of Canada. If I have succeeded in conveying this message of good-will and contributed in a small way to cement the friendship and goodwill existing between our two great countries, my visit to Toronto will have been more than worthwhile. I conclude, Mr. President, by thanking you most sincerely for your kindly reception of me, and by wishing you all the best of luck!

"FOOD"

An Address By

HON. JAMES G. GARDINER, B.A., LL.D.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, February 14, 1946

Mr. Thompson: Gentlemen, the Empire Club of Canada is honoured today by the presence of a Dominion Cabinet Minister, who is no stranger to us, in that this is his third visit to our platform. Those of you who had the pleasure of hearing him at this club on the previous occasions are, I am sure, looking forward, as I am, with great anticipation to today's address.

Our guest speaker, who was born and brought up on an Ontario farm, went West as a farm labourer at the age of seventeen and has since been a resident of Western Canada. From 1916 on, he has been the owner and operator of a 480 acre farm in Saskatchewan, where he successfully raises cattle and hogs, as well as field crops of sweet clover, oats, barley and wheat.

A graduate of the University of Manitoba with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, having specialized in History and Economics, he also holds the honorary degree of LL.D. from both the University of Manitoba and the University of Ottawa.

He has been in the public life of this country for well over thirty years, entering the Saskatchewan Legislature in 1914 and was Premier of that Province for 6 years. He has devoted all his political career to the furtherance of agriculture and it is doubtful if any man in the Dominion of Canada today has a broader knowledge of the history and economic background of the farmer. In 1935, whilst holding the office of Premier of Saskatchewan, he was asked by the Prime Minister of Canada to come to Ottawa and take over the portfolio of Agriculture which he so ably fills to this day.

Back from Europe but a few days, where he was one of Canada's leading delegates to the United Nations Conference, he has been gracious enough to come to us today to tell us of conditions overseas particularly in respect to the vital food situation, which he investigated thoroughly.

Gentlemen, it is indeed a pleasure to now present to you, the Hon. James Garfield Gardiner, B.A., LL.D., who will speak to us on the subject of "Food".

THE HON. JAMES G. GARDINER: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of The Empire Club: My subject for today is Food. Twenty years ago I delivered an address at Grouse Mountain over Vancouver to the Canadian Chamber of Commerce on Canada. You invited me to repeat the speech here. I made it the opportunity to enlarge upon the advantages of having a cosmopolitan population in Canada, and I prophesied that the time would come when a Canadian citizenship, based upon these European and British immigrants, would emulate the accomplishments of the British and give service to mankind.

Two notable things have happened recently which verify that prophecy. The first is best illustrated by the facts in relation to my own province of Saskatchewan, which I am sure are typical.

Over forty per cent of the population of Saskatchewan is first or second generation immigrants from European countries. Just under forty per cent of those who gave their lives in the recent war from that province bore the names of those same nationalities. The second is we have considered it wise to establish Canadian Citizenship by Act of Parliament, which I hope will be made law at the coming Session.

In March 1935 I was again invited to address your Club on the Drought Area of the West. I pointed out that it constituted the area from which surplus food was produced for export, that it had not all blown away, and that with the return of the seasons with average rainfall it would produce again.

That prophecy also has come true. During the six years of war that area produced more tons of food than in any other six years since it was broken from the virgin prairie. If it had not been for the bountiful harvests in that area throughout the six years of war, very little if any food could have left Canada for the United Kingdom and the battlefronts.

It is not an accident that this can be said. In June 1935 the Bennett Government introduced a measure known as the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act. A few weeks later we took charge of the administration of that Act. We took sub-marginal lands out of cultivation. We moved people on to better lands. We fenced 1,300,000 acres into community pastures. We irrigated certain areas. We put water in farmers' backyards. We spent $20,000,000 doing these things. We spent $100,000,000 keeping farmers on the land to produce again. It rained throughout the war and they did produce again.

The Federal Government paid the freight on the grain from Fort William east, and from Calgary went into all other parts of Canada. This made it possible to produce meat and dairy products, during the time when their production was essential, as they were never produced before. Great volume was shipped to Britain under Government to government contracts which established stability in the industry.

The result is that wherever one goes in Britain or on the continent, the name of Canada stands high among those who are talking about food, either in terms of quantity or quality. The world is now looking for food and naturally attention is turned toward Canada. We have satisfield those outside Canada that we are following sound policy in producing maximum results.

Canadians are not so easily satisfied. People in a democracy have a right to criticize their government and the freer the country the more voluminous is the criticism. Those of us who have been in politics over a considerable period take criticism in our stride. If we are not capable of doing that we do not remain long. I think you will agree with me when I say I have had my share of it. But since I have remained constantly in the public service since before the First Great War I am sure you will agree I have benefitted by criticism.

The criticism early in the war was that the West is growing too much wheat, they should take up mixed farming, feed wheat to their hogs and produce bacon for Britain. Those who were critical then did not agree when we replied in 1940, on our return from Britain, that all the wheat Canada could produce and store would be consumed within two years of the end of the war. Now, that the estimates made in outlining our policy in 1940 and 1941 have been realized almost to the bushel, the same critics are saying that we should not have fed so much wheat to hogs. It provides more calories than any other available food.

Well, Mr. Chairman, you cannot eat your cake and have it too. What was wanted in Britain from 1940 to 1945 was bacon and beef. We produced the bacon and beef for them in greater quantities than anyone thought possible. Thanks to our farmers, who followed our advice in spite of criticism, and packing and shipping organizations which co-operated in every way, we were able to deliver and are still delivering record quantities of eggs, cheese, milk, meat and wheat to Britain and European countries.

Mr. Chairman, the war has not changed the location of Canada on the earth's surface; the war has not changed the nature of our soil; the war has not changed the climate. Our natural markets remain much what they were before the war, with this exception—that we hope some nations have learned in the hard school of war that narrow nationalism does not pay. If so, the quantity we can market of all farm produce will be increased. There is no reason, therefore, why farm policy should be materially changed.

I might also say that last Fall we put an embargo on the shipment of barley to the United States for brewing purposes. We limited the amount to be supplied to our own breweries in order that feed would be available. We have refused within the present week to release barley to Europe for brewing purposes. In order to retain barley in the drought areas for feed or make it available for feed in Eastern Canada, we have been paying the malting premium on all barley which is sold for feeding purposes.

Everything which is being discussed at present as related to the food position was known last summer. To meet it we cut our butter and sugar rations. We regulated the consumption of rice to about one-half of normal. We rationed meat when others were dropping rationing. We took all canned meats off this market. In short we did almost everything others are talking about now. Britain knows that. Europe knows it. The farmers of Western Canada are delivering wheat to the needy people of the Allied world at from 25 to 40 cents a bushel less than others are obtaining for it. That is one reason why our wheat and flour is in such demand in countries which, while preparing for war a few years ago, condemned these same farmers to greater poverty than I witnessed in Europe during my recent visit.

If that policy is to be continued then either all Canada must bear the burden rather than the farmers alone, or the plans agreed to with countries concerned must protect us against a return to the economic warfare which preceded the fighting war in Europe.

What Canadians should realize is what all other countries admit, namely: that the farmers of Canada carried through in a most unselfish manner one of the most essential war jobs. What we should realize further is that they are doing just as effective a job through the transitional period.

At the beginning of the war we called in representatives of the Provincial Departments of Agriculture and outlined Britain's needs. We stated to them that fortunately Britain's needs did not require that we change our agricultural practice. All it required was that we produce better quality in greater quantity. Later we called in farm and processing organizations along with government staffs. We invited first the farm press and later the daily press to give publicity to the conclusions. We stated from the beginning that we were not going to direct or compel farmers to produce any particular commodity. We decided to advise them and where necessary assist them from the Treasury to make changes which would increase necessary production. Throughout the war this plan has achieved marvelous results. We hope to continue it in peacetime.

The experiences during the war have established a technique which we believe will obtain similar results during the transitional period. I visited Britain in 1940 to learn their needs first hand and to establish some financial basis upon which our surplus could be marketed throughout the war. We entered into agreements establishing quantity and price in advance. We then placed these needs for the succeeding year before the farm conference in December. The quantities in the agreements formed the goal at which we were aiming. As long as feed and labour was available we raised our sights. When in 1943 labour supplies were affected by the needs of the services and feed supplies began to lower because of a reappearance of drought in the West, our sights had to be lowered. We pride ourselves on the fact that whether the sight could be raised or lowered these conferences have succeeded in setting attainable objectives every year since 1940. We were able to attain the objectives because we planned to achieve them.

We first assured that pesticides and fertilizers would be available. We assisted in their distribution to Eastern and British Columbia farmers.

On the Prairies it requires a three way division of land, one-third summerfallowed, one-third sown on spring plowing or in grass, and one-third sown on the previous year's summerfallow. At the beginning of the war about one-fifth was summerfallowed. We paid the farmer $4.00 an acre to increase his summerfallow and grasslands and $2.00 an acre to increase his feed grains. This cost us

$82,000,000 over three years. But as stated at the beginning we have produced the greatest tonnage in our history.

The second was that to get the maximum of production it would be necessary to feed whatever livestock available labour, water and grass would render possible in the prairie provinces and ship surplus feed grain to other parts of Canada to assist in livestock production. This distribution was encouraged through the payment of freight east and west from the prairies.

The third was that returns should be stabilized through entering into long time contracts with our best markets, particularly Britain. It is our intention to follow this policy so long as it is desired by our best customers.

Contracts based upon this policy are in existence to the end of this year which dispense of all our surpluses. as soon as extensions are finally arranged the details will be announced.

Following this policy has brought about the most satisfactory results ever achieved on our Canadian farms. It is not our intention to change because we believe following that plan, and basing the findings of the Annual Conference upon it, obtains the maximum production and the best possible distribution and returns. If that is correct it accomplished the desired result of feeding the greatest number of people. It would be a mistake and would help no one to depart from sound agricultural methods.

The war came to an end last year. We took advantage of the first opportunity to visit Britain and Europe to explore their needs. Fortunately we do not need to change our established policy to meet their requirements as far as it is possible for us to do so. We are looking to the future and food will play a most important part in establishing or disturbing the peace. The great wars of the past have been caused by men finding themselves unable to feed their families where they are and moving to more sparsely settled areas without consulting the wishes of those who already occupy them. Forms of government have been responsible for taking the final act, but all the great migrations from thickly populated Asia to less densely populated Europe and later to America resulted from a search for food and shelter and usually brought war.

After listening to the discussions at London and listening to the pleading of people on the continent of Europe and coming back to our own sparsely settled continent, I am satisfied that the world has not yet taken any decided action which will establish peace indefinitely.

Every country from Britain east to the far coast of Asia is overcrowded with people. Every policy discussed to date has as its objective feeding people where they are and forcing them to remain docile, even when and if starving, by armed forces. Few countries are inviting them to come to where the food is.

What we must eventually have in Canada is enough people settled in close proximity to food producing areas to consume the greater part of the food produced there. A distribution of population which brings that about will make it possible for staple foods such as wheat, meat, eggs and dairy products to be supplied at prices consumers everywhere can pay. In other words we will be able to exchange our products for his to the advantage of both.

If industrialists of Canada are looking for distant opportunities to make profits instead of expanding east into the maritimes and west into the prairies, I hope they will find themselves crowded out of this, the best country in the world, and over into the crowded areas by some more prudent industrialists from those areas who will come and bring their staffs with them.

This war has proven beyond a shadow of a doubt that if the markets of the masses who live south of the American boundary and elsewhere are made available to Canadian industry to increase our volume we can compete with any one. If we are permitted to do so our population will increase. Much of the industry which is attempting to maintain too great numbers in Britain and Europe will migrate and a healthy distribution of population will follow.

If the rest of the world does not free their markets and seeks to maintain all the industry and population where it is, that does not excuse Canadians for assisting the world into another World War. Canadians who are looking for an opportunity to expand can find plenty of room in Canada.

The area from the foothills of the Rockies to the Pacific Coast is inviting industry by its resources of coal, gas, oil, water power, minerals, timber and twelve month ports. The Provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba have their opportunities. The Maritimes have been denuded of thriving industries by a greed for profits.

Canadian industrialists should spread industry across this country just as farmers have spread farming across this country. Farmers thrive most when industry is near and labour thrives most when food is produced in close proximity to factories. This should be done in the national interest even at the expense of profits.

There has been a long painful advance through the ages from totalitarian state control to individual enterprise and freedom. The incentive which has led the advance in many places has been profit. Like most other good things the ability to make profits can and has been used to exploit the masses. The masses have made up their minds that any exploitation which prevails must cease. If we are going to save the world from the reactionary movement now under way which would carry us back to the most objectionable form of monopoly, state ownership and control of all the resources and machinery of production, we who are individualists must subject profits to the needs of state and through the state to the needs of the masses. Men will still fight before they will starve or see others starve. When mankind ceases to have the guts to do so the sooner the atomic bomb will repeat Sodom and Gomorah the better.

"THE RUSSIAN RIDDLE"

AN ADDRESS BY

MR. WILLSON WOODSIDE

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, February 21, 1946

MR. THOMPSON: Gentlemen, our guest of honour needs no introduction to an Empire Club audience in that this will be his sixth address from our platform.

However, for the benefit of those who may not know him well, I would like to say that he is a graduate in engineering of the University of Toronto, with the degree of Bachelor of Science.

Following graduation, he was for five years a member of the Faculty of the University of Toronto, from 1929 to 1934, during which time he took the utmost advantage of the long summer recesses by visiting Europe each year and familiarizing himself with the continent, it's people and it's problems.

In one way or another, by foot and bike, bus and boat, train and plane, he has crossed the continent eight times and, there is no important corner that he has not visited.

In 1934, he became a free lance reporter and lecturer on International affairs and it was in September of that year, that he first addressed this Club, speaking at the time on German Propoganda, under the title "The Whole World is Against Us".

During World War Two, his name became well and favourably known from Coast to Coast in this country, because of his excellent analysis of the War news, which was heard nightly over the air. His ability to untangle the fast occurring events made him one of the most popular commentators.

A journalist of note, he has been, since the beginning of the war, Foreign Editor of *Saturday Night* and, his weekly articles in that journal are of great interest to the student of world affairs and, we are all looking forward to his address of today.

Gentlemen, it is with pleasure that I now turn the microphone over to Willson Woodside, who will speak to us on "The Russian Riddle".

MR. WILLSON WOODSIDE: Obviously you have a very enterprising program committee. After booking this talk last Wednesday, they seem to have hustled around and persuaded the Prime Minister to blow the lid off a great international spying affair, in order to bring the crowd out! Apparently they had no worries lest I should be picked up by the RCMP.

The latest development, the Soviet accusation that we have acted in an unfriendly manner, and made a very small affair an excuse for a great anti-Soviet campaign, on the bidding of Mr. Bevin because of the rough time they gave him in the Security Council, has broadened this into the diplomatic field. This is to be understood as a diplomatic counter-attack. And I think it is an attempt to intimidate us into pussyfooting in our official statement of the scope of the spy ring and fifth column activity in Canada. *They* threaten *us* with breaking diplomatic relations! The thief accuses us of being unfriendly because we made a fuss over handing over our wallet; and then says, anyway, our wallet—that is, our secrets, were not much good anyway, and he has far better ones!

Diplomacy On Military Lines

This kind of diplomacy, the same which Mr. Bevin stigmatized in the Security Council debates, shouldn't be very hard for us to understand, as we met it from another country before the recent war. It is a diplomacy carried out on essentially military lines, with attack and counter-attack, faints, surprise moves, and camouflage; and strategic retreats when necessary in order to prepare the position for a further advance.

But even before the diplomatic angle developed, our public rightly understood that this is a very serious matter. It is the greatest treason scandal ever uncovered in an English-speaking country—thought it is quite possible that as great a one could be, and perhaps will be, uncovered in the United States. I doubt that it could happen in Britain, where all of the Nazis' efforts before the war only succeeded in corrupting a single British officer, Captain Bailie Stewart.

As far as the actual Russian agents who have been operating in our country go, I wouldn't expend any moral indignation on them.

They were simply doing what they were paid for—and what the RCMP are paid to prevent.

There are, however, disturbing implications when one considers *why* the Soviet Government should have established such spying and fifth column activity in our country, which was friendly to them during the war, which freely handed over to them many of our most valuable war secrets, carried on clothing and relief drives, founded societies of friendship, and held so many public demonstrations, patronized by our highest dignitaries right up to the Prime Minister. It seems to have posed for us here an insistent question as to whether the Soviets ever felt so friendly towards us. But I shall come back to that, when I analyze their current policies as laid down by Stalin and his chief colleagues in their recent election speeches.

The thing which should concern us most in this spy exposure is the number of Canadians, even in official positions, who are willing to sell out their country to a foreign power. Unfortunately, the trouble isn't quite as simple as just *selling* information. Worse was the fact that so many were willing to give it away, having come, through a long and insidious process of indoctrination in university and press, and from some pulpits, to hold what they considered a "higher patriotism" to Soviet Russia, than to their own country and the ideals it stands for.

Some Facts For Deluded Canadians

That, we must be deeply concerned about. As McAree wrote in Tuesday's *Globe*, many of these people have simply come to accept that Soviet Russia can do no wrong, and that a thing like the atomic bomb is actually safer in her hands than in the hands of our own leaders. This, as he says, duplicated within every other nation, is an ominous development in international relations.

In this situation, it seems to me that we—and more particularly the deluded ones—badly need a thorough and critical analysis of what Soviet policy really is today. We cannot simply go along on Mr. Churchill's aphorism that it is a ridle, wrapped in mystery and enclosed in an enigma.

A British diplomat out at San Francisco said that the reason Soviet foreign policy was so difficult to fathom is that it is twice as foreign as any other. First, it is Russian. And second, it is Communist. I think most people underestimate how *Russian* the Soviets and their policies still are. National character is a very persistent thing. I recall the joke played by the American Ambassador Bullitt when he went to Russia several years before the war. Finding in the embassy files a report on the Russians made by a predecessor of his in 1845, describing the extreme censorship, the lack of political freedom, the secret police, the suspicion and the difficulty of doing business with them in general. Bullitt drew a fresh copy of this, dated it 1935, and sent it off to the State Department, where it was duly read and filed as a current report on Soviet Russia! I could recite other, older and just as remarkable comparisons.

The Soviets Are Still Very Russian

The Soviets, then, are still Russian. And they are now following old Russian, Tsarist, policies in dominating the Baltic, using Panslavism all through Central Europe and the Balkans, driving for the Dardanelles, penetrating Iran, and imposing on the Chinese a control of Manchuria almost identical with that secured by the Tsars 50 years ago. Indeed, in almost all instances the appetite has grown and the prosecution is much more vigorous.

Secondly, Soviet foreign policy is Communist. This is mixed with Russian imperialism to give what one writer calls a sort of "socialist imperialism." We had an accurate preview of this policy in Finland, in 1939.

Behind the Red Army, and installing itself in the first village captured, came a so-called "Finnish People's Government," headed by the chief Finnish member of the Comintern, Kuusinen. The war came and went, and this policy was carried on in almost identical fashion in Poland, where the leading Polish Comintern agent Pierut was set up as the head of government by the Red Army; and in Yugoslavia, where Tito, the chief Yugoslav member of the Comintern, was sent from Moscow. Bulgaria became the special field for the head of the Comintern himself, the Bulgarian Dimitroff who defied Goering in the Reichstag Fire Trial. In Rumania the famous Anna Pauker dominates the government. Back to Italy has been sent Togliatti, the chief Italian Comintern member. Back to France Thorez and Duclos have returned after spending the war years in Moscow. The Communists of the Free Germany Committee maintained in Moscow during the war have been moved into administrative positions and newspaper editorships in Berlin. Even in the United States a reorganization of the Communist Party has been ordered by the very important French member of the Comintern, Duclos. Browder and his policy of labor-management peace have been denounced, and a new line laid down, as the Daily Worker said, "to take advantage of the coming era of industrial strife". And how quickly that came! And here in Canada, you should read the anxious apologies by Tim Buck and the rest in their publications, for their "mistake" in following Browder's line. Now, they say, they must fight even "the opportunistic CCF social reformers", to the death, for control of the labor movement.

Comintern More Active Than Ever

These are facts. Anyone who can doubt that the Comintern, far from being dissolved, is more active and ambitious than ever today, is beyond the persuasion of reason. The hopes and aims of this side of Soviet Policy are clearly revealed in the election boast last week of the very important Party Secretary and Stalin aide, Andreyev, that *16* Soviet Republics were taking part in this election against *only 11* in the last one.

There are some who hold that this Soviet policy of annexing adjoining territory, creating buffer states beyond that and maintaining a fifth column in all other states is motivated, and justified, by their suspicion that the outside, "capitalist" world still harbors evil intentions against the security of the Soviet Union. Since the fascist states, Germany, Japan and Italy are laid low, *that means us.* Let's look into this question of Soviet suspicion.

Those who justify it say, look at the Intervention in Russia in 1918-19. Look at Munich. Look at the anti-Soviet writers and parliamentarians in our countries.

Well, about the Intervention, which looms so big in Soviet histories, and has served them so well to hold their people together under a rigorous regime. Our position when the Eastern Front collapsed in 1917 didn't look much brighter than it would have, had the Eastern front folded up in 1943 or 44, and we had been left alone to defeat Germany's 250 divisions. We sent three or four divisions to Russia, to guard the immense supplies which lay piled on the docks and support anyone who would reopen the Eastern Front and fight Germans, *just exactly as Stalin supported Michailovitch in 1941,* no matter what he says of him now, *because he was fighting Germans.* When it came to the question, after we had beaten Germany, of whether we would launch a real intervention in Russia, and send the large forces necessary to overthrow the Bolshevik government, the British and French cabinets and parliaments, and even more, the workers, and soldiers, just wouldn't do it. It is far more certain today that our people simply wouldn't support any aggressive attack on Russia.

Were They Right On Munich?

Then there is Munich. The Soviet press interpreted this unhappy business, which I certainly opposed to the best of my ability, as a clearing of Hitler's road to the east, so that he could invade Russia. But it was Germany that forced through the Munich Pact, not Britain. When six months later, Hitler attacked eastward, Britain went to war against him. And when he invaded Russia, Britain offered her full aid the same day. So *that* case is shot full of holes.

Finally we come to the most vital point of suspicion: whether the big remaining "capitalist" powers are planning a coalition to attack the Soviet Union. Well now, the Soviet theory that Munich was a coalition of European capitalist powers against the Soviet Union was proven completely wrong. The British people, in the "phony" war period, and the American people in their division and confusion up to Pearl Harbor, showed that they simply will not put their weight into any war today until and unless they are attacked. Imagine how long and how bitterly the American press and Congress would argue about forming an alliance with Britain, which can't be done in secret! Then the annual military estimates, which would show the preparation of great armaments, are debated in parliament, in both Britain and the U. S. —and Canada. There are public opinion polls, and presidential elections, which show the trend of things, and to which the Soviets have the fullest access. And our chiefs of staff have *no power whatever* to declare war, or launch one by surprise, without declaration—the kind that people are worrying about, what with the new atomic weapons.

Quite the contrary, this sort of secret preparation and launching of war is only possible under a dictatorship, where there is no expression of public opinion in parliament or polls, no debates on the military budget, but every chance for secret deals like that with Germany in August, 1939, and sudden attack, like that against Finland in the same year. It is part of the historical record that our scruples and our public opinion are such that, under the most terrible pressure, we wouldn't even violate the neutrality of Ireland and Portugal, in the war.

It seems to me that, as a Canadian diplomat recently returned from a stay of several years in Russia said the other day, the Soviets are merely using this cry of "suspicion" for all they can get out of it in the way of concessions, and for holding their own people in line. (For it is not to be assumed that they, alone of all countries in the world, have no domestic political and social problems, after such a devastating and exhausting experience.)

We Have Not Used "Atomic Diplomacy"

It is significant that, immediately after we had used the atomic bomb, the Soviet propaganda fell very quiet. Then at the London Conference the Soviets tried us sorely, to see how far we would go in applying "atomic diplomacy" to them. When we completely failed to do this, and to insist on any of the points we desired—*and only then*—did they start shouting about our "atomic diplomacy" and how suspicious they were justified in being about it. Then we went to the Moscow Conference and made further concessions to prove to them that their suspicions were unfounded. That's how "atomic diplomacy" works in soft hands. I wouldn't like to experience it in tough hands.

This suspicion, of which we hear so much. Let's go into our efforts to dispel it, and the return which we received. There was the Lease-Lend, given without strings—probably foolishly—and *to an extent far beyond the mere sustenance of Russian defensive power.* We gave a battleship and a cruiser, and put the Red Army on wheels with over 300,000 military trucks and jeeps. There were the clothing collections, relief funds and public demonstrations which I have mentioned. Yet we had never received a kind word, much less a ton of supplies when our backs were to the wall. Admiral Standley had to make a public fuss to get the Soviets to acknowledge our aid in their press. And no one has ever reported a single friendship meeting for us, held in Russia.

We gave them our secret weapons, but far from giving us theirs, they didn't even give us captured German weapons, which they had encountered but we had not. We allowed their correspondents and officials to travel freely about our countries, but that didn't make the least difference in the restrictions which limited every move of our people in Russia.

Soviet's Isolate Selves At 'Frisco

I had an interesting experience with this policy of self-imposed Soviet isolatian. On the press train out to San Francisco, which was just a great rolling press-club, with everyone visiting with everyone else and a chance to talk things over with famous journalists from all over the world, the four Tass Agency men visited no-one, and took all their meals at the same table together. Out at San Francisco the Canadian delegation was lodged in the same hotel as the Russian, the St. Francis. Mr. McKenzie King and our other delegates had ordinary rooms or suites, ate in the dining room or the coffee shop, and could be readily approached in the lobby.

The Soviets took a whole floor. They closed it off, turned the hotel servants out, and as the manager told me, moved every stick of furniture—obviously looking for listening devices. I never heard whether they found any. Then they got hold of a kitchen up on the French floor, before the French knew about it, and secured the use of a private elevator. Suddenly they brought in cooks, servants, food and vodka from a Soviet ship in the harbor. Just think, all this preparation must have been made immediately after the Yalta Conference, for everything had to be shipped across Siberia and loaded at Vladivostock for the long run across the Pacific. They went to this much trouble to isolate themselves at an international conference, where everyone else mixed as much as possible. And Mr. Molotov, of course, lived in the exclusion of the Soviet consulate and travelled to and from the conference with a phalanx of body-guards.

I'll give another and still better example. Everyone recognizes that the problem of getting along better with the Russians and breaking down the barrier of suspicion, is one of personal contacts and friendships. President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia and President Conant of Harvard thought that they had a good idea for promoting these, a year or more ago. They decided that they would each offer free scholarships to a hundred Soviet students, and moreover, would offer to finance the same number of American students at Russian universities.

A Friendly Offer Rejected

They put these proposals in a letter, and sent it through the Soviet Embassy in Washington. Month after month went by; they asked for an answer but never got one. Then last summer, when a new college year was coming up, they tried again. They made the offer more pressing, and asked for an early answer so that they could adjust their budget. This time they got one. It said that, due to conditions left by the war, the Soviet universities were unable to accept American students. And there were already sufficient Soviet students at American universities. They added these up, and there were 18. One must ask who is isolating whom?

I don't give these examples in malice, but in deep concern—for I had my own experience in trying to be friendly with the Soviets, earlier in the war. There was a time when I was able to interview the ambassador, was welcomed at receptions at the embassy which the whole of Ottawa was eager to attend, was asked for a message to the Soviet press, and quoted in Izvestia for my tributes to the magnificent endurance of the Red Army and the Russian people. But all this came to a sudden end when I pointed out that other, smaller and earlier allies had rights too. Then I was suddenly discovered to be a "fascist", a "Goebbels agent" and all the rest; and the henchmen of the Soviets, our local Communists, began a tremendous letter-writing campaign against me to the press and radio. I have given these examples of the failure of our efforts to promote friendship, and of Soviet self-isolation, in the deepest concern, because they are now explained as an official line of Communist policy in the speech which Stalin gave ten days ago, on the occasion of the Soviet election. As the New York Times emphasizes, this speech deserves the most careful study, since it is literally the gospel, as laid down for the Soviet officials and people, and Communists all over the world.

What is this new line. Well, the worst is that it is far too much like the old pre-war line. I happen to receive every day an extensive report of all the important broadcasts given over national radios everywhere in the world, and I have carefully studied and compared the election speeches of all the leading Soviet figures: Stalin and Molotov, Kalinin and Voroshilov, Zhdanov and Kaganovitch, Andreyev and Beria, and several others of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. It is quite clear that, sitting together, they have laid down the line as follows. Each speaker uses three or four of the themes, which come up time and time again in almost the identical phrasing.

The Soviet Post-War "Line"

The line emerges as this: "The war was caused by capitalism." "Further capitalist crises are inevitable." "Capitalist states will bring forth new aggressors." "There are still fascists and reactionaries active in the states of our former allies." "Soviet Russia is within a capitalist encirclement."

Then: "We must be vigilant, and prepared against any eventuality." "We must consolidate the fruits of our victory; parts of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements remain to be made good." "The Soviet position in the world has been immensely strengthened." "And, "Stalin has made no mistakes." There was also a strong attack made by Kalinin on Social Democrats—naturally because they offer the working man an alternative to Communism. There was only the slightest mention of the U. N. O. And there was no mention whatever of any aid we might have given, or any suggestion that it was a common victory.

Much the most important was Stalin's speech. I can only go into it very briefly today; but I have written about it at length in the *Saturday Night*. The war, he said, arose inevitably from the development of monopoly capitalism. Now, as all four powers at Nuremburg agree, this war was launched by Nazi Germany; that is, by a nation which had set up National Socialism, severely restricted the operation of its big industrialists, and abolished all of the ordinary bourgeois or capitalist freedoms. Much more significantly, the war was launched by a dictatorship, which had first covered its rear with a deal with another dictatorship. The biggest capitalist nations, the U. S. and Britain, were the most reluctant to fight, and unhesitatingly supplied and supported Socialist Russia when she was attacked.

So what is there left of that theory of Stalin's? Surely the one great reason for the war was the German urge for sheer physical domination of other peoples. This is as old as history, just as other militaristic peoples have been led to war by other war-minded leaders. Then Stalin comes to the reasons for the Soviet victory—he doesn't say anything about our part in it. The chief reason for victory he says, was the superiority of the Soviet social system. Now this is a bill of goods which Stalin and his followers are trying to sell all around the world. Actually, in the crisis of the war Soviet propaganda turned almost exclusively to emphasize Russian nationalism, the defence of the homeland, the famous Russian Tsarist generals of the past. It used even religion for what it was worth. And it called the war, The Great Patriotic War, and not the Great Socialist War. For it can be proven that the Soviet leaders were completely mistaken in their notions of how the war would come out.

What Soviets Expected In 1939

I reviewed in *Saturday Night,* in the fall of 1939, a little book which had been distributed to the entire Red Army, foretelling how the war would come out. It would be started by the capitalists of Western Europe. But their workers would not follow them. In Paris and Milan, as in Berlin, the workers would revolt and set up Popular Front Governments. Then the Red Air Force would strike a great decisive blow at Ruhr industry, and the war would be ended and a Soviet Europe arise, without the Red Army ever having left the USSR. In the event, as we know, the French workers fought as Frenchmen—except for the Communists leaders who deserted and fled to Moscow; German workers fought as Germans; and, I presume from Soviet propaganda, Russian workers fought as Russians. What they fought for, I suggest was to prevent *any* system being imposed on them, *by Germans.* After several millions of them saw how incomparably better were the living conditions in every other country which they invaded, or "liberated", the Soviet leaders are very busy indeed trying to reconvince them of "the superiority of the Soviet social system."

Better Multi-Nationalist System?

Stalin's next reason for victory is "the superiority of the Soviet multi-national system over any other multi-national system." That is, the arrangement by which they allow their many nationalities their folk costumes and dances, and the use of their language in school and literature, but deny them any free political activity. This, they argue, is the real solution to the question of national feeling and rivalry, which has undoubtedly plagued the world in the last century.

But surely the rallying of the many nations of the British Commonwealth and Empire, of their own free will, in the darkest days of the war, and without being invaded but in the cause of general freedom, was one of the war's most inspiring aspects. It is true that there is trouble today in India—which produced two million volunteer soldiers during the war. But political action and writing happen to be free in India. One may ask, what would the Ukrainians be saying today, if they were free to do so? One can only judge by the fact that hundreds of thousands of them remain in our zones in Western Germany, unwilling to return to paradise. Perhaps they recall that their nationalist movement, after being recognized by Moscow after the last war, was suppressed later by Red Army occupation, and by the deportation of all the most politically conscious part of the population. The same has been done with the Lithuanians, the Latvians and the Estonians since 1940, and is being done today with the Poles and Serbs and Bulgarians. Certainly it is a "solution" of the national problem as far as the rulers in Moscow are concerned, but hardly a pleasant one for the victims.

Finally Stalin came to the most important part of his speech, the program which he laid down for the country's future development. The most moderate editorialists and commentators on this continent have agreed almost unanimously that this is not a program for raising the welfare of the masses such as one would expect if Stalin envisaged a long period of peaceful co-operation and trade with the rest of the world.

More Steel

He calls for almost the quadrupling of Russia's present steel production and an equivalent development of all heavy industry within 15 to 20 years. This has the distinct appearance of a military effort, just as he admitted and even boasted, that the 13 years of heavy industrial development before the war had been a military effort. Stalin justifies the further sacrifice which this will demand from his people by the need of "guaranteeing the country against any eventuality." Molotov is more explicit. He says that "by outstripping the most highly developed capitalist countries we will serve the interests of our own country, and the interests of Communism."

What can one conclude from the interpretation of the war, as given to Communists the world over? From the Soviet action in excluding us from Eastern Europe? From Soviet ambitions in the Mediterranean and Middle East, where they eye Trieste, Salonika, the Dardanelles, demand parts of Turkey and Iran, and are carrying out an intensive propaganda through the whole Moslem world? From their vast new military program, and their grab for oil all around their borders? From the fact that they damn even Social Democracy as unacceptable to them?

Potential Enemies

I am afraid that what we must conclude is that, whatever our hopes and desires, the Soviets still see us and our way of life, as potential enemies. Further, we seem to be enemies by their own choice, as they won't be friends or mix with us—even with our Social Democrats. It looks as though they won't tell their people of our aid in the war, because how could they make us out as enemies if we were proven to be friends? It looks as though they were holding a grip on their people by the old, old device of telling them that they face a hostile world. It appears that they continue to hold to their theories that this must become a Soviet world, that while using UNO for what it is worth in securing the period of peace which they undoubtedly need, they are intensifying their work inside all other countries, but especially in those all around their border, from Poland to Manchuria.

How to deal with such people is indeed a hard thing to decide. One way of dealing we should have learned by now is of no use, and that is attempts at appeasing such people, by a one-way show of friendship, and one-way concessions.

One World: Free World

Many well-meaning people have felt that if only we had handed over to them the atomic bomb secret, we might have finally secured their friendship, and everything would have come out differently. But with their attitude, and their aims of spreading their brand of totalitarianism, so consistently pursued over the years, could our leaders, your representatives, really take the responsibility of handing to a dictatorship which has shown its ruthlessness towards its own people and others so adequately, this decisive weapon for world conquest?

That might very well have been, freedom committing suicide. Surely it is obvious that freedom is still in great danger, that the free world must stand together, and stand up for what it believes in, while at the same time carrying out necessary reforms which will rob local Communist agitators of their appeal. If we are going to work for One World, we have got to make sure that it is a Free World. On that there can be no compromise.

"THE DEVELOPMENT OF AIR POWER IN CANADA"

AN ADDRESS BY

HON. COLIN GIBSON, K.C., M.C., M.P.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, February 28, 1946

MR. THOMPSONS Gentlemen, the Empire Club of Canada is again honoured by the presence of a Dominion Cabinet Minister; on this occasion we are privileged to have with us the Minister of National Defense for Air.

Born in Hamilton, a son of Sir John Gibson, K.C.M.G., former Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, our speaker was educated at Highfield School, Hamilton; Royal Military College, Kingston and, Osgoode Hall, Toronto. A lawyer by occupation, he was called to the Bar in 1915 and created a K.C. in 1935.

He has a distinguished military career, having served during the 1914-18 World War with the Royal Fusiliers, was wounded twice and was awarded the Military Cross, Belgian Order of Leopold and the Croix de Guerre.

An expert rifle shot, he has been a member of the Canadian Rifle team to Bisley five times. Amongst his many military activities, he has commanded the Royal Hamilton Light Infantry, the 4th Infantry Brigade and, also the Hamilton Garrison.

Elected to the House of Commons in 1940 as Member for Hamilton West, he was then appointed Minister of National Revenue. On his re-election in 1945, he was appointed to his present post, that of Minister of National Defense for Air.

From the days of the Royal Flying Corps in World War I (then the Royal Air Force and now the Royal Canadian Air Force) Canada's interest in flying has been steadily growing. The great part played by Canada in the Commonwealth Air Training Plan made us more air conscious than ever and, now that World War 2 is over, we are naturally anxious to hear what our government proposes for the continuance and advancement of this important arm of our defense forces.

It is with extreme pleasure that I now introduce to you Colonel the Honourable Colin Gibson, K.C., M.C., M.P., who will address us on the subject, "The Development of Air Power in Canada".

HON. COLIN GIBSON: Once a year, by the laws of Ontario and of most other civilized communities, it is laid down that the directors of a corporation present a report to their stockholders on the achievements of the past, and on the immediate and long-term expectations of the company.

You, the stockholders in Canada's future, are entitled to know what your directors, the members of the Government, have been doing with your investment and how they intend to develop your business further. You want to know what dividends have been declared, what the current expenditures are, and in what direction we intend to expand.

It is my purpose, as Minister of National Defence for Air, to place the balance sheet before you, and to outline Canada's plans for the future of the Royal Canadian Air Force.

It seems almost incredible today that only thirty years ago there was no Canadian Air Force at all. The air age had scarcely dawned in 1914, and the necessity for such a Force was not recognized at that time.

During the First World War the adventurous spirit of 20,000 young Canadians called them overseas, where they joined the Royal Flying Corps, the Royal Naval Air Service, and, later, the Royal Air Force. At the time of the Armistice one officer out of four in the R.A.F. was a Canadian.

The names of more than 1,500 officers and men appear in the Book of Remembrance in the Memorial Chamber at Ottawa. 800 were decorated or mentioned in despatches. Three, Major W. G. Barker, Major W. A. Bishop and

2/Lieutenant A. A. McLeod were awarded the Victoria Cross.

By 1918 it had become obvious that the old ideas of defence would have to be modernized and steps were taken to organize a Canadian Air Force. In April, 1920, with a nucleus of wartime flyers, this Force was formed, on a part time or militia basis. Three years later it was given the prefix "Royal" and it became a permanent Force in April, 1924. At that time the R.C.A.F. had 95 officers and 375 airmen. Thus your company was founded.

What of dividends and expansion in the years before 1939? How much did this Force contribute to the development of Canada and the advancement of our Canadian civilization?

Vast areas of the North were surveyed and photographed, new routes were plotted, our timber reserves and fisheries were protected by numerous patrols; sick and injured Indians, trappers, and farmers were flown out of the bush for medical treatment, and agents were transported to pay treaty money to Indians. These were the dividends, although all cannot be calculated in terms of dollars and cents.

But dividends are not all, the company also expanded. By March, 1931, the strength of the R.C.A.F. had risen to 177 officers and 729 airmen. Current expenditures had likewise increased from the modest sum of $1,377,328 in 1924-25 to a total of $7,147,018 in 1930-31.

The Auxiliary Air Force was first formed in 1933 and twelve squadrons of these militia airmen were formed by September, 1939.

It was not until 1938 that the R.C.A.F., which up to that date had operated as a branch of the Canadian Army, was created as an independent corporation under its own Chief of the Air Staff. At the outbreak of war in September, 1939, it had a strength of slightly over 4,000 officers and airmen.

As a result of the expansion and development of the R.C.A.F. in the years between the wars we were in a position to pay out one of the biggest dividends that the history of aviation has ever witnessed. We were able to develop and administer the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, and to turn Canada into what the late President Roosevelt described as "the aerodrome of democracy". It was a dividend which Canada shared with the whole civilized world.

Thousands of young men from the United Kingdom. Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the countries occupied by the enemy were literally trained from the ground up, and proceeded overseas in an ever-expanding stream to re-inforce the R.A.F.

The Agreement to set up the B. C. A. T. P. was signed in December, 1939. In five months the first flying school was opened on schedule. By January, 1944, over 100 flying schools and 260 ancillary units and schools were in operation. Down to 31st March, 1945, when the Plan was terminated, 131,553 aircrew were fully trained, over 55% of the graduates being Canadians.

At first, due to commitments in the Training Plan, the participation of the R.C.A.F. in air operations overseas was limited. In February, 1940, an army cooperation squadron arrived in Britain to work with the First Canadian Division. In June another army cooperation, and a fighter squadron, proceeded overseas.

Gradually new R.C.A.F. squadrons were formed in England, or went over as units from Canada, until 47 Canadian squadrons were operating from overseas bases, and one from Iceland. Bomber, Fighter, Coastal and Transport Commands all had Canadian Squadrons.

As the number of our bomber squadrons increased a separate Canadian Bomber Group was formed, and commenced operations on January 1st, 1943. During the year the Group made over 7,300 sorties and dropped 13,630 tons of bombs for a loss of 340 aircraft. In 1944 the scale of operations showed a very marked increase, while the ratio of losses steadily declined. The number of sorties jumped to over 25,300 and the tonnage of bombs showed an even greater ratio of increase, to well over 86,000 tons.

In addition to the squadrons in the R.C.A.F. Bomber Group there was a Canadian Squadron in the Pathfinder Force of Bomber Command, which played a brilliant part in marking targets for following waves of bombers.

The original R.C.A.F. Fighter Squadron, which had its baptism of fire in the Battle of Britain, was joined in 1941 by six more, and early in 1944 by another six, which came from Canada after periods of service on the East and West coasts. In 1942 an all-Canadian fighter wing had been formed in Britain from three Spitfire squadrons. Later several more R.C.A.F. wings were set up, equipped with Spitfire aircraft and Typhoons.

From the spring of 1941 to the spring of 1944 the major duty of the Fighter Squadrons was to escort the day bombers of the R.A.F. and U.S.A.A.F. which struck at airfields, railroad centres and factories in enemy-occupied territory.

As a change from high-flying escort missions, the fighters also engaged in low-level ground strafes, shooting up enemy defences, airfields, camps, locomotives, factories, vehicles and power lines.

Another—less welcome—duty was convoy patrol, to guard shipping in British coastal waters. On the other hand our Spitfire pilots occasionally made attacks on enemy ships attempting to slip from harbour to harbour.

In the spring of 1944 the R.C.A.F. fighter wings added a new role to their varied activities, and became fighter-bombers. In the weeks immediately preceding D-Day they played an important part in dive-bombing "rocket" sites, bridges, freight yards and radar posts. From D-Day onward they were the spearhead of attack, covering the invasion beaches, dive-bombing enemy strongpoints, and taking a heavy toll of the German Army's transport and fighting vehicles.

A fighter-reconnaissance wing of the R.C.A.F., equipped with Mustangs and Spitfires, gathered tactical information in preparation for the opening of the Second Front, and continued this work for the British Forces as they fought their way forward from the beachhead.

When the war ended this wing had penetrated deeper into Germany than any other Canadian unit, and was flying from a field at Luneburg.

In addition to the day fighter units, the R.C.A.F. also contributed three squadrons for the night defence of Britain, and they won an impressive number of victories over the raiders. They also destroyed large numbers of flying bombs before they could reach their targets. During the invasion of Normandy they spread a protective shield over the convoys and our men on the beaches and harried the Germans on their home bases.

Coastal Command, which shared with the Royal Navy in the arduous and vital duty of guarding Britain's shipping, and destroying that of the enemy, also had its quota of R.C.A.F. units, in addition to the Canadian units operating from Canada and Newfoundland. Sunderland squadrons spent thousands of hours sweeping over the seas in search of U-boats, or shepherding convoys to port. Often their patient watch was rewarded by unmistakable evidences of a kill; in many other attacks the Nazi submarine was certainly damaged.

A Canso squadron, which moved from Canada to Iceland, also took part in the Battle of the Atlantic, and scored several successes, in one of which F/L D. E. Hornell of Mimico, won the V.C.

While these units were sharing in the work of the R.A.F. based in Great Britain, one of our fighter squadrons was accompanying the Eighth Army in its triumphant advance from El Alamein to Cape Bon, across to Sicily, and from the heel of the Italian peninsula to the valley of the Po. The Canadian Spitfires did particularly good work over Anzio and Cassino, and then, when the Luftwaffe withdrew from the daylight skies of Italy, our Spitfires became fighter-bombers, cutting rail lines and highways, and strafing rolling stock and vehicles.

Farther east, in the wide expanses of the Indian Ocean, another of our squadrons escorted convoys, carried freight, hunted submarines, and aided in the rescue of shipwrecked seamen. It was a Catalina, from this Canadian squadron, which, early in 1942, detected the approach of a Japanese invasion force, and warned the defences of Ceylon in time for them to repulse the enemy.

In the last months of the war in Europe the R.C.A.F. formed several transport squadrons, one of which played a part in conveying troops and supplies to our forces in the Netherlands and Germany, while on the other side of the world two others were doing similar work in Burma.

During the war the strength of the R.C.A.F. increased from slightly over 4,000 to a peak of over 206,000.

In addition to the personnel of the 47 Canadian squadrons overseas, approximately 20% of the aircrew in R.A.F. operational squadrons were Canadians. These Canadians flew with R.A.F. units in every command, and in every theatre of war. They helped to destroy the Mohne and Eder dams, they fought in the battle of Malta, they accompanied the R.A.F. mission to Russia, they flew over the Western desert, they roamed the skies of Italy and took part in battles and bombing missions over the steaming jungles of Burma. R.C.A.F. casualties amounted to over 20,000 and about two-thirds of these gave their lives for their country. It was a tremendous price to pay, but our enemies bear witness to the effectiveness of our war in the air.

> "Three factors", said Field Marshal Von Runstedt, "defeated us in the West. First, the unheard of superiority of your Air Force, which made all movement in daytime impossible. Second, the lack of motor fuel—oil and gas—so that the Panzers and even the remaining Luftwaffe were unable to move. Third, the systematic destruction of all railway communications so that it was impossible to bring one single railroad train across the Rhine. This made impossible the reshuffling of troops and robbed us of all mobility."

Field Marshal Kesselring, who commanded the German armies in Italy and succeeded Von Runstedt in the West, said much the same thing when he remarked that

"Allied air power was the greatest single reason for the German defeat". Other Generals made similar comments, which Hermann Goering summed up with the words "The Allies owe the success of the invasion to the Air Forces. They prepared the invasion, they made it possible." These are eloquent tributes to the real value of the development that took place between the wars.

All this has now become history, and as the Air Force is always looking ahead it may well be asked "What of the future?"

It is frequently said that Generals and Chiefs of Staff prepare, not for the next war, but for the one that has just been successfully concluded. But as General Arnold recently stated in an American broadcast—

> "Until the fantastic possibilities of untried and undeveloped weapons have definitely indicated otherwise, we can do nothing but continue to develop the art of war in the air in the natural development of any science, or any branch of human achievement. There is no other way than to build on our experience, and draw upon the ingenuity of our best military, scientific, economic, social and political minds, and so constantly to keep, what we have at the moment, the most effective shield and sword of peace."

That shield—or sword—consists of three elements. An Army and Navy we must have. An Army's radius of operations is limited, however, but less so with the cooperation of an Air Force. A Navy's range is great, but, as with the Army, its speed is restricted. An Air Force combines both range and speed. It can strike and strike far, while ships are getting under way, and armies are mobilizing.

This is not to say that we need only one arm, or that we can concentrate on one and neglect the other two. All three are essential for a well rounded scheme of national defence. But it nevertheless remains true that it is the Air Force which must be ready to ward off the first blows of an attack—before they can reach our shores—and, if need be, strike the first blows at the foe.

"Airpower", to again quote General Arnold, "is the first line of defence, and the first weapon of attack.

One often hears talk of defensive and offensive weapons, defensive and offensive forces, as if they were types of weapons and forces which were specifically designed for one function and not for the other. In modern warfare no such distinction exists. The Halifaxes and Lancasters of the R.C.A.F. Bomber Group, for instance, played their part in the invasion of Normandy. Nor does the existence of the atomic bomb alter the fact that airpower is still the first line of defence. The atomic bomb may appear to be an essentially offensive weapon, but it may well prove to be the most effective defensive one ever developed.

So an Air Force can be turned to either purpose. We can use it for offence or for defence. We can use it to banish war from the face of the earth. In no case can we afford to be without one.

The question remains "how large should our peacetime Force be?" It has been necessary to consider many factors before reaching a decision.

After long and careful study it has now been decided that Canada shall have a Force composed of Regulars, Auxiliaries and Reserves, and containing Fighter, Bomber and Transport Squadrons, with the necessary ancillary units. The Permanent Force will include eight operational squadrons and eight composite flights with a total strength of 16,100 officers and men. The operational force will consist of two bomber reconnaissance, two transport, one fighter reconnaissance, one fighter bomber, one air observation and one photographic squadrons, while the composite flights will provide for communication, air-sea rescue, target-towing, a glider unit, and practice flights for aircrew employed on administrative duties. The glider unit, like the air observation squadron, will use both Army and Air Force personnel.

Fifteen auxiliary squadrons, with a total strength of 4,500 officers and men, will also be created, ten of these squadrons being fighters, three fighter bombers and two fighter reconnaissance. Of these it is proposed to organize five squadrons at an early date, at Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg and Vancouver.

All of these units, in the Regular and Auxiliary Forces, will be supported by the necessary formation headquarters, supply, maintenance and training units, as well as research establishments. In addition to the Regular and Auxiliary Forces there will be a Reserve composed of 10,000 officers and men.

The Auxiliaries are intended to provide a Force fully organized, manned and equipped which, should the necessity arise, can be mobilized as a Tactical Air Force for operations in conjunction with the Army, in the same way that the R.C.A.F. wings formed part of the Second Tactical Air Force during the war in Europe.

Citizens of Toronto will be interested to know that one of the Auxiliary Squadrons to be formed here will perpetuate the record of Number 400, the famous City of Toronto Squadron. That units, originally known as No. 10 Army Co-operation Squadron, was the first R.C. A.F. Auxiliary Squadron to be formed. It was authorized in 1932, and remembered as 110 City of Toronto in 1937. At the outbreak of the war its Commanding Officer was Air Commodore Geof O'Brien, CBE. AFC, and Air Vice-Marshal W. A. Curtis, CBE, DSC, was its second in command. Reinforced with personnel of No. 2 Army Co-operation Squadron, it was the first R.C.A.F. Squadron to go overseas, and earned an enviable record for work well done. This Toronto Auxiliary Squadron will have its headquarters at the old Eglinton Hunt Club property, those premises having the necessary parade ground, drill hall, messes and instruction rooms.

In addition to the Regular, Auxiliary and Reserve Forces there will also be the Air Cadet Corps, which will continue to prepare young men for entry into the Regular the Auxiliary Forces or into civil aviation. I would like to pay tribute to the Air Cadet League and those who have done so much to support the Air Cadets.

An Air Force does not consist, only of squadrons and the airfields from which they fly. It requires highly trained officers able to plan, organize and direct. It needs expert staff officers and instructors. For this purpose the R.C.A.F. Staff College at Toronto will be retained, and will work in close co-operation with the staffs of the other Canadian armed services, the R.A.F. and the U.S.A.A.F.

Now you may say, all this does not sound like a mighty Force and you will be right, since a democratic nation, that loves peace, cannot maintain in peace the armed forces which would be necessary for its protection in time of war. The essential thing is to maintain a balanced force capable of rapid expansion in time of need, and providing some measure of protection when the enemy first strikes; a nucleus from which a wartime force can be speedily developed. It is believed that this plan for the post-war establishment meets this requirement.

But what of the cost? And you may ask is it all one sided or do we get anything out of it, other than tax receipts? The estimated cost of maintaining a regular Force of 16,100 men is $55,650.000. The Auxiliary Force will require an additional expenditure of about $3,000,000, and the Reserve about half a million. The total annual outlay therefore will be $59,150,000 a year when the full establishment has been reached.

I should also add that new rates of pay will go into effect after approval is given to the report of the Committee now working on the subject. It is intended to make the pay in all the Services commensurate with the rates paid in industry for men of similar trades.

Now what do we get out of this? First, of course, we derive a measure of security. Then we have the various services provided by the Air Force including Transport services; air photography, and mapping of the great expanses of our uncharted areas; air-sea rescue services and in addition we benefit from a considerable amount of the research which is being undertaken to keep Air Force abreast of the times.

This research is quite extensive. Establishments have been set up at Rockcliffe, Edmonton and Toronto for the study of a wide variety of subjects. The Test and Development Establishment at Rockcliffe experiments with aircraft, engines, armament, electrical and photographic equipment, and tests new designs that are submitted. At Edmonton the Winter Experimental Establishment examines and reports on the performance, under low temperature operational conditions, of aircraft, fuels and accessories; while here at Toronto the Institute of aviation Medicine serves as the aviation medical centre of the R.C.A.F. This unit has facilities for Consultant and Specialist officers, and laboratories for nutritional activities in relation to messing. Its statistical section provides all available data and the records of medical activities. Besides well-equipped laboratories, it houses a human centrifuge, a cold low-pressure chamber, and a tropical room. Thereby the complete co-ordination of all medical activities, from which medical standards and policy can be determined, is made possible.

One of the most important phases of research now being carried on by the R.C.A.F. is a study of the propagation of radio signals. Canada is faced with special problems, which do not to the same extent confront any other country in radio propagation, because of its location with respect to the earth's geo-magnetic pole and because so much of the Dominion lies within the auroral zone—a broad belt circling the geo-magnetic pole. In this zone radio reception is particularly sensitive to sunspots. When they are large and numerous (as they are just now) high frequency reception is often very bad in the auroral zone. A reliable frequency prediction service is therefore of particular value to this country.

In the Division of Research and Development of the R.C.A.F. a special section or group has been set up to study these problems, in co-operation with the other Government Departments. Their investigations are coordinated through the Canadian Radio Wave Propagation Committee, which in turn co-operates closely with similar organizations in the United States and Britain.

Before the war no stations for the continuous study of the ionosphere existed in Canada. There are now five, under the direction of the Canadian Radio Wave Propagation Committee. These Stations, one of which is at St. John's, Newfoundland, and controlled by the R.C.A.F. send radio pulses straight upwards to the ionosphere and record the echoes as they are returned—exactly as with radar.

Th knowledge gained from the study of these ionosphere echoes, together with the analysis of R.C.A.F. radio traffic, is used as the basis for predicting future conditions of radio propagation. Three months in advance, all R.C.A.F. stations are supplied with a guide which shows what frequencies should be used for the best reception at each hour of the day and night. The R.C.A.F. was the first organization in Canada to provide a complete frequency prediction service.

In addition to research on the ionosphere, experimental work is also proceeding on the troposphere—which is the lower portion of the atmosphere nearest to the earth. In the use of radar during war time it was discovered that the troposphere region has peculiar effects on propagation, which are bound up with the weather. The R.C.A.F. group, in conjunction with others, is studying these effects to learn and utilize the fundamental principles.

Increased knowledge of the upper atmosphere is valuable for another reason—to aid in the further development of high altitude flying, and in this work our research is making a valuable contribution to the future of aviation.

The end of the war witnessed important changes in aircraft design. But in the light of our present knowledge there is a speed beyond which controlled flight is impractical, even for the most powerful and efficient combination of engines and propellers. This upper limit is the speed of sound, and is approximately 700 miles per hour. It is also economically impractical to extend much further the altitude at which engines and propellors can function. The engine-propellor combination loses power and efficiency as altitude is reached.

This, however, does not mean that further progress in aircraft development is impossible. The aircraft designer has a new source of power available, the jet engine. Aircraft propelled by these engines are now in operation and have reached speeds, and altitudes, hitherto believed impossible. The jet unit develops more horse power, per pound of engine weight, than the conventional engine, and increases in efficiency at high speeds and altitudes. There seems to be no limit to its future possibilities. The R.C.A.F. is vitally interested in jet propulsion, and plans to construct fighter aircraft with jet engines of Canadian design and manufacture.

Other research projects in which the Air Force is deeply interested, and in which it participates with other Government Departments, include a Photographic Research Establishment, a Flight Research Section, Chemical Warfare Laboratories, an Armament Research and Development Centre. Many of these, it can readily be seen, bring benefits to mankind at large, as well as serving to keep the Air Force prepared for any eventuality.

Finally, if, amongst the benefits provided by our Air Force, we can list peace, it will be well worth our while to make our contribution to the United Nations Organization. What that contribution may be has not yet been decided, but a nation that has met such high costs for war cannot, and I am sure will not, grumble at the relatively small expenditure required for the maintenance of peace throughout the world.

In this age we can no longer rely on one country maintaining a Pax Brittanica, we must all do our share. Our neighbours to the South have realized this. They see clearly that peace and prosperity can only be obtained in co-operation with other nations. We must co-operate too. Security, peace, national development and research; these are the dividends you are getting from your investment. Intangibles perhaps, but none the less real.

There, then, is the balance sheet. From small beginnings your Air Force developed in the war years into a mighty force. Its young men, fired with the spirit that animated those who fought in the First World War, have left us a wonderful record of achievement. They lived up to that motto, contained in the scroll surrounding the Eagle in the Air Force Badge, Per Ardua ad Astra—to the stars, by hard work, by uphill endeavour.

It is now up to us to help their successors to keep bright and unsullied that escutcheon.

By the maintenance of our post-war Air Force, and a willing acceptance of our new responsibilities in the world, we may prove worthy of the sacrifices that have been made in the past. You, citizens of Toronto, can do your part by living up to the motto of No. 400 Squadron, "On the Watch to Strike". If we are watchful, and help in the uphill work, we can reach the stars; and there may never be occasion to strike.

"THE PAN-ARAB MOVEMENT AND THE STERLING BLOC"

An Address By

MR. LEE G. KASSARJI, B.A.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Wednesday, March 6, 1946

Mr. Thompson: In these unsettled days, there are many international situations that are of World Wide interest and not least among them is the Arab question. To-day, we have as our speaker one who is very familiar with the Arab problems. Born in Turkey of Armenian parents, he received his early education at Roberts College, Istanbul, Turkey. He next attended the American University in Cairo, Egypt, and, from there he went to the American University of Beirut, Lebanon, from which he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy and Religion.

He recently came to Canada from Cairo where he had been located for the past five years, during part of which time he was a member of the Canadian Government Trade Commissioner's Staff in Cairo, which office has jurisdiction over Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, and Malta.

An author, an actor and a linguist, he devotes a great deal of his time to cultural advancement. In the business world, Mr. Kassarji is the General Manager of the All-Nations Trading Limited, Toronto, Canada. Gentlemen, I have pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Lee Kassarji, B.A., who will address us on the subject: "The Pan-Arab Movement and the Sterling Bloc".

Mr. Lee G. Kassarji: You have kindly invited me to speak to you this afternoon on a very delicate problem. Allow me, at the outset, to express to you my heartfelt gratitude for the privilege of which I shall try to make myself worthy to the best of my ability.

The question inevitably arises in any public speaker's mind as to what is expected of him. Even in love there is some expectation . . . However, I firmly believe that you want me to tell you the Truth as I have seen and studied it for twenty-five years in the countries of the Middle East, in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa, because Truth, in the long run, will lead us to Light, to Life, and to International Peace and Security.

My Company is in the export business and we have hundreds of contacts and scores of agents in all the countries of the world—including the Middle East which is the heart of Arab lands. Our sole purpose is to sell these countries all kinds of goods manufactured in Canada by Canadian labour and capital. And it is my firm conviction that, with all her vast natural resources, Canada will become great if she will increase her trade with foreign lands. Our purpose as exporters is to foster and boost Canadian trade, but what we want is more cooperation by Canadian manufacturers, by Great Britain, and finally by powers that be in Ottawa, in order to make Canada a greater nation.

Canada is in peril! Sinister forces both from within and from without are threatening the integrity of Canadian life everywhere. Not this Dominion alone or the United States, but the entire world is in peril. Mankind to-day is dazed—swimming hysterically in a whirlpool of problems, and we may perhaps kid ourselves that we can be saved by clinging to a straw, or, as the Oriental adage goes, by clinging to a snake in the sea. Well, what are some of these problems!

First and foremost is a mad clandestine race for atomic power—as if that were the salvation of the world. Then, economic security! Monetary stabilization based on the Brettonwoods Agreement! Labour and Management! Transition from war-time industries to peace-time production! Domination over and rigid control of occupied territories! The bolstering up of The United Nations Organization! Riot and mutiny in British-occupied territories! In the face of all these, one wonders if we, the human race, will ever survive or whether we shall miserably destroy ourselves within a few decades.

Gentlemen, I am sure you will now think I am an awful pessimist. I am when it comes to economic and international affairs. But believe me when I say that I am an incorrigible optimist when it comes to my dealings with the fairer sex . . .

As you have already deduced from my topic, there are two phases to the problem we shall now discuss together: (1) First, The Pan-Arab Movement, and (2) Second, The Implications of the Sterling Bloc for Canada. So, let us proceed, if you will, step by step.

What Is The Pan-Arab Movement?

First, then, what is the Pan-Arab Movement? The Pan-Arab Movement is a political ideology conceived in all the Arabic-speaking lands populated by approximately 75 million Moslems and stretching across 3,000 miles of territory from the Gibraltar through Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, The Sudan, Lebanon, Syria, Trans-Jordania, Palestine, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia, Iran (Persia), and even as far as India.

This political ideology does not have political, economic, and social repercussions only upon this Dominion and the British Commonwealth, but upon the entire world. It is one of the major influences disturbing world unity. The movement is basically negativistic—a hatred of all that is Western—with the object of making themselves self-sufficient in every way—particularly from an economic standpoint. As you will realize, this implies the expulsion from Arab lands of all foreign powers and their influences which, according to the Arabs, are selfish, undesirable, and destructive. This is why you have been hearing lately of riot and mutiny in the Levant, in Egypt, in Palestine, and in India.

Well, now, what does all this imply? Only one thing. The Arabs are actually convinced that the only motive of the British, of the French, and of the Americans everywhere is exploitation. Whether this conviction be justified or not is another problem which is not within my scope. As independent thinkers, you can answer the question yourselves . . .

Our second problem is: Well, what is the origin of the Pan-Arab Movement? Who gave it birth and who nursed it? The origin of the Pan-Arab Movement goes as far back as the origin of the human species. The Arabs, like the Jews, belong to the Semetic Race. The infiltration of Western Powers into the Arab lands gradually gave birth to this Movement. As the Arabs became more educated—as they had once educated the Western World in science, in mathematics, in finance, in religion, and in art—as their eyes were opened wide to the economic resources of their lands, they immediately realized that they were being exploited. Their intellectual and political leaders paved the way to revolt by saturating the mind of the public with discontent. All this period from the 15th century onwards marks only the pre-natal or the preliminary period of the Movement. Then, you will naturally ask: "When was its true birthday?" Historically, March 17, 1945.

On that day a Conference began 4,500 miles from where I am speaking now—the city of Cairo of the Ptolemies of Egypt. This was the first official conference of Arab leaders.

I feel sure you would be interested to have a picture of the scene. The Conference began, as usual, with a big banquet. A crowd of curious onlookers assembled in Soliman Pasha Street. They watched eagerly as large limousines drove up depositing white-robed individuals who walked with stately tread into the Conference Hall. A few of them wore wide red satin belts, red shoes turned upward at the toes, and plenty of ribbons and medals.

With them were their Vezirs—that is, their military and political advisers. Each secret service man carried a large Turkish sword, ready to use it if danger threatened his minister. Inside the colourful banquet hall, even the waiters were attired in white robes, but they wore the fez—not the turban. The fez is a mark of lower social rank—the turban, higher. This Conference was called by the former Prime Minister of Egypt, namely, Mustafa El-Nahas Pasha, and he presided during the negotiations. If you will remember, he was the man who recently issued a Manifesto against the British in Egypt.

All this pomp and solemnity was on March 17, 1945. Then came April 25, 1945. On that day was held the famous San Francisco Conference where Moslem nations were also represented. There they were imbued, as always, with a spirit, an attitude, a movement which we have come to call "Pan-Arabism" or the "Pan-Arab Movement".

I am sure you, as free-thinking Canadians, will naturally say: "Well, if the Arabs want to get together and form a sort of Federation—what harm done?" And you will continue: "After all, Canada did the same thing when she joined together her provinces into the Dominion of Canada. Did she not? Even the American colonies formed themselves into the United States of America at the end of the eighteenth century. And now the Moslem nations around the Mediterranean Sea are moving in the same direction—the direction of unity and federation. What harm done?"

Well, I agree with you entirely. No harm done whatsoever. The only harm done, you will agree with me, is to those Western Powers who—so the Arabs declare—are exploiting the natural resources of those Eastern countries. The human soul abhors domination and exploitation! Let us be impartial and ask ourselves for a moment: How did we feel when the Nazis and Fascists tried to subdue us and destroy us? We felt so bitter that we went to the extent of sacrificing the flower of our nation.

I trust I am not being misunderstood. I am neither an Arab nor a Jew, neither a Canadian nor an American, neither a Frenchman nor a Chinese. I am an Armenian and I was taken out of Armenia when only three months old. So you can well imagine how Armenian I am. My country—beautiful Armenia—which has a cold and healthy climate similar to your wonderland, is situated between the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea, and it is one of the sixteen republics of the United Soviet Socialist Republic. But soon you will see for yourselves how many bitter things I will have to say against Russia for her unwise clashes with other powers—surely, always in the interest of world security and peace.

So, you see, I am bound—by virtue of my impartiality—to tell you nothing but the truth—of course, as I see it. If you consult your Bible, you will find that Noah's Ark landed on Mount Ararat which is the beautiful snow-capped peak of the two high mountains in my original homeland.

So far, I have merely given you an inkling into the origin of Pan-Arabism and its birthplace in Egypt. Now let us divert our attention for a few moments, if you will, to the Levant States, namely, Syria and Lebanon, and to the Holy Land, namely, Palestine, which are still under French and British Mandate, respectively. Well, what are the consequences of the Pan-Arab Movement in these three small countries?

The two little countries of Syria and Lebanon are situated in the Middle East—at the extreme East end of the Mediterranean Sea—just North of Palestine and South of Turkey. Last May mobs roamed the streets of their two capital cities, namely, Damascus and Beirut. Hundreds were wounded and killed in the fight between the French and the natives. (Mind you, these disturbances followed shortly after the Arab Conference held in Cairo on March 17, 1945).

In the Levant States the Senegalese troops were given the order to fire and kill. My heart breaks as I now think of those dark days in May last, because I have lived in these countries for seven years, and I would like to tell you something of what lay and still lies behind such clashes that threaten allied unity. You will remember that only a few weeks ago a new delegation from Syria and Lebanon went to Paris to discuss the withdrawal of French Troops from the Levant.

Why all this discontent? Let us see the secrets hidden behind the curtains.

Syria and Lebanon were taken from the Ottoman Turks in 1918. Turkey had them joined with Germany—as she almost did in this last War—who was also then on the losing side of the first World War, and these Levant states had long demanded independence from the harsh Ottoman rule. Syria and Lebanon were made mandated territories under the French in 1920, with the definite promise by the League of Nations that they should receive independence when they became of age—ready to rule themselves. Since 1938 they have made many attempts to receive this independence, but they did not get it because of many reasons. One reason was that the world was in a slight mess and France did not feel herself sufficiently secure to give up any of her possessions. During the dark days of World War II then no action could be taken. But when France was liberated, and when General de Gaulle took over the government of his country, then the people in these little countries of Syria and Lebanon began to ask: "What now? What about us? Do we get our freedom too?"

Last May France proposed again to hold her privileged status, and it was then that the trouble really flared up and mutiny threatened peace and integrity. Consequently, consultations among authorities in Washington and London on this vexed question resulted in the British march into Syria and Lebanon.

Naturally, Britain was and is still placed in a very difficult position because she herself has a similar mandatory power over another Middle East country—Palestine, and although then the British intervened to prevent further inhumanity of man to man, Britain was not able to support too heavily the claim of Syrians and the Lebanese for independence, unless she made similar concessions herself to her own colonies, but, on the other hand, she did not wish to incur the enmity of her old ally—France.

Now, do you see clearly the workings of the Pan-Arab

Movement in these Levant States? The Pan-Arab Movement aims to unite all the Arab peoples. They are against the French and the British in Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, The Sudan, Iraq because—so the Arabs declare—they are being oppressed for selfish ends, of course, as always, with great tact and diplomacy. In fact, it was agreed among the Arab nations on March 17, 1945, that each should run to the rescue of the other if and when attacked by any foreign power. Hence, the common revolt, riot, and mutiny simultaneously now in many of the Arab lands!

So, the natives of Syria, and Lebanon say: "We have no time for slavery. Democracy is independence. Independence was promised to us long ago, and now that we are of age, there is no reason why we Syrians and the Lebanese should be kept in bondage by the mandatory powers. Why should our revolt for freedom be crushed? Is there no justice in the world and is might still the only right?" Gentleman, this is the plea of the prisoner at the bar.

Now, let me tell you something about these delightful little countries—which are always the centre of world attention. Let me tell you something about Damascus—the capital city of Syria. Damascus is the quaint Oriental city where St. Paul was proceeding when he was struck by a vision converted him to the cause of the Nazarene.

Damascus is built on the side of a hill. It is a city of trees, fruits, flowers, running brooks—a city of churches, but no, not Christian churches with tall spires, but domed mosques with stream-lined minarets, for Damascus is and has for generations been a Mohamedan city. When in Damascus, I used to love to wander in the market places. The good old farmers came there every Tuesday to sell their poultry, their cows, their milk, and their sheep—also a Turkish cheese which would have pleased many of us here at our table. I never saw any pork change hands in these markets, because pork is unholy food to the Moslems, just as it is to the Jews.

Beirut, on the other hand, the capital of Lebanon, is a small cosmopolitan city. It is a miniature Paris, with a population of half a million—about half the size of Montreal. You will understand how cosmopolitan it is when I tell you that there are 35 different nationalities represented there: the Lebanese, mostly Christians; the Syrians, mostly Moslems; the Greeks; Armenians; Russians; French; English; and now plenty of Americans. It is a dainty little artistic city with her night clubs, theatres, and concert halls.

I simply love the city of Beirut because I went to school there, and because it is a centre of enlightenment and of culture. My university was called The American University of Beirut, and it is there, at the knees of my patient teachers, where I learned English, a language I love to cultivate. But the American University of Beirut is not the only centre of education. There is the French University where students study medicine and law and arts. Many of them take political science and economics and law. These subjects are considered very important by the Lebanese because they want to learn how to govern themselves wisely and scientifically.

Believe me, I never met such cultured, intelligent, refined and deep-thinking young men and women as in this beautiful city of Beirut. As the cradle of all Western civilization, these people meet the future in the light of their past culture. Religion—Christianity, Judaism, Mohamedanism—all sprang from the Middle East. Add to these music, art, drama, law, trade, and commerce. The Lebanese and the Syrians are descendants of the ancient Phoenicians—the first people in Man's history who began commerce overseas. These people are eager to live well in the present by making use of the knowledge which science offers them to-day.

But here I must make one point absolutely clear. They do not think of freedom as licentiousness or doing as one pleases—as many of our Western "moderns" do. My friends, this is not freedom. They think of freedom as the ability acquired to think and choose the right. They believe that the right and the good are the greatest powers of the mind. They want to govern themselves and do it well. I look back on my years in Beirut as among the happiest of my life, and I wish you too could meet some of the deeply spiritual people whom I knew there.

Well, so much then in praise of the land where I lived seven years of my life. How much more shall I praise this blessed land of Canada where I may live to the end of my days . . . ?

Why Western Interest In Arab Lands?

And now we come to the fourth problem in Pan-Arabism. Why are the British, the French, the Americans, and the Russians so intensely interested in the Middle East? Because of various reasons on which we shall comment very briefly.

First, the Suez Canal is the life-line of Britain. Then, Egypt feeds British textile mills with the famous long-stapled Egyptian cotton. All Western Powers, as well as Russia, are interested in oil. I ask you, Gentlemen: May Russia be seizing the opportunity to take advantage of the situation prevailing now in the Middle East because her own oil wells at Baku are almost depleted?

Then, there is the vital route of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorous which are Russian gateways to the Mediterranean. So, you realize what a strategic position those countries occupy in the Middle East. Add to these, if you wish, the fact that the vast plains of the Middle East serve excellent aerodromes for airplanes in an age bound to increase its air traffic continuously. These, in brief, then, are the reasons why the Middle East and the Arab lands become the target and the axis upon which rests and revolves the fate of international peace and security: interest and life-line of Western Powers.

The Sterling Bloc

Now, we come to the second major section of our topic—The Sterling Bloc. Those of you who are in the import-export business will readily grasp the relevancy of the subject. What I have to say in this connection touches very intimately every child, every man, and every woman in Canada, the Veterans who have just returned home after doing a magnificent job on the battlefield, and those of us to whom is given the heavenly gift of seeing ourselves as others see us and thus shaping the destiny of a promising nation.

Let us not think for one moment that this subject should be of interest only to business men. No! It is of vital concern to the Canadian house-wife too. We realize, of course, that if Canada is to buy her needs from other countries—such as, dates, nuts, olive oil, glassware, chinaware, textiles, raw materials, perfumes, hides, and skins—she has to pay for them either by barter or in actual cash. But can she pay if she cannot sell to these markets and thus receive payment for her own exports?

Just what do we mean? We shall soon know . . . But first let us penetrate deeper into the Sterling Bloc. Why is it called the Sterling Bloc at all?

The Canadian currency is in dollars—and so is that of the United States, our neighbour country. But the currency of Britain is not in dollars. It is in sterling pounds and in shillings. During this War certain conditions caused Britain to think and plan for her own economy and livelihood. She entered into an agreement with certain countries. These countries are: The British West Indies, The Honduras, Egypt, Palestine, Sudan, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Greece, Italy, Ethiopia, Cyprus, Malta, and India.

What has this to do with Canada? Friends, let us never forget that the national welfare of a people rests firmly upon her foreign trade. The Honourable James Mackinnon, Minister of Trade and Commerce, said: "The connection between economic well-being and Canada's export trade is very close. Every aspect of Canadian national life rests upon foreign trade".

Well, what shall we do about it? We must think right if we wish to live right. We do not advocate any drastic measures, such as, civil disobedience or upheavals. God forbid! We already have enough lawlessness in this land.

During the War, in my capacity as official-in-charge for some term of the office of the Canadian Government Trade Commissioner for the Middle East, Cairo, I watched very carefully the sacrifices you went through and the spirit of co-operation you showed as a Dominion of Britain.

Britain must realize one thing. The Sterling Bloc is bound to jeopardize her own welfare where this Dominion is concerned. How? Why? We are afraid unless the British are prepared to let Canada into the Sterling Bloc on the same basis of equality that this Dominion entered into the War, Canada's economy will of necessity drift closer and closer to that of the United States whose commercial partner she now is.

Conclusion

Now, what is our conclusion? Threefold. (1) First, if we are to do business with the Arabs, we ought to appreciate their position and their status in international trade. (2) Second, The Sterling Bloc must be modified, if Canadian trade is to expand. (3) Third, we must—merely for selfish reasons, for the sake of our own security—we must think of world security at large. After all, did we not fight this war to eradicate the racial superiority of the Germans—of the so-called the superior Aryan race?

Well, what is the key to peace, then? I can see only one solution for peace, and that is the closest co-operation unselfishly of all nations and races—great and small. Economic democracy is the only solution, because this means the welfare of the people, and nobody can deny that the basic interests of all major powers to-day is or should be nothing but this welfare of the common people, if we honestly want peace and security.

But, on the other hand, this is impossible, so long as individual citizens are themselves abnormal and lack peace and integrity of mind and character. How can we expect emotionally disturbed and frustrated personalities to lead any nation into peace and security? How can we expect national leaders who themselves are not mentally integrated to integrate peoples, nations, and races into a single social unit of Universal Brotherhood? I say, this is utterly impossible. A peaceful world is a Kingdom of Heaven, but we must all first be taught to seek the Kingdom of Heaven in our own souls and minds!

Canadians!

This is my last word to you. I have tried to present the picture to you as impartially as humanly possible. I know the task laid upon my shoulders was great—perhaps heavier than I could bear. But you are the judges of world affairs—yes, you, the peoples of this wonderland of Canada. The entire world looks up to you.

What is your decision? What action must you take?

"AUSTRALIA LOOKS AHEAD"

An Address By

REV. W. G. MARTIN, D.D.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, March 14, 1946

Mr. Thompson: Gentlemen, the Empire Club of Canada, today welcomes to it's platform, one who is well known to most of you not only as a former resident of this province, but as Ontario's first Minister of Welfare, which post he so ably filled.

A graduate of Victoria College, University of Toronto, where he won the Gold Medal in Oratory, he has since put his talent to good use in that his vocation is that of a sky pilot. In addition to his outstanding services as a preacher, he has lectured and delivered dramatic recitals throughout Canada.

During the World War of 1914-18, he served overseas in both England and France, as Chaplain in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. In 1926, he was elected to the Ontario Legislature and held office until 1934, during part of which time he was a member of the Cabinet. In 1943, the United College, Winnipeg, conferred upon him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Divinity.

He has not only travelled this country from the Maritimes and Newfoundland through to the Pacific Coast and Northward to within 700 miles of the North Pole, but has visited all the principle parts of the British Empire. He has just returned to his home in Winnipeg after a long stay in that most important unit of our great Commonwealth—Australia.

It is indeed a pleasure to present to you, the Pastor of Grace United Church, Winnipeg, Reverend W. G. Martin, D.D., who will speak to us on the subject "Australia Looks Ahead".

Rev. W. G. Martin: I have returned recently from a mission to Australia where for four months I was the guest preacher at St. Stephen's Presbyterian Church, Sydney, which, by the way, is the largest church of that Denomination in the Southern Hemisphere. In addition to the great privilege of occupying that historic pulpit, it was my good fortune to meet many of our Canadian lassies who are wedded to Australian service men. I was present at the Central Railway Station in Sydney when 125 of these girls arrived. As on every such occasion they were accorded a rousing welcome, and I would like to assure the relatives and friends of these girls, who have resolved to make their home in the Antipodes, that they are readily adjusting themselves to happy surroundings in a happy land. Everywhere I went in Australia I found that Canada stands ace-high in the minds and hearts of the Australian people. There is a tremendous appreciation of the hospitality which Canada bestowed upon the Australian lads who came to our shores for training under the Commonwealth Air Training Plan, and the gladness with which they welcome the Canadian war brides is an expression of the sense of gratitude which they feel towards us as a people.

I discovered in Australia universal admiration of Canada's war effort. Our achievement as a Nation in the cause of Freedom, and our generosity of action in support of the Motherland deeply moved the people of the Commonwealth. All in all the war has done much towards strengthening the bonds of friendship, understanding, and co-operation between our two great Nations.

Australia is a topsy-turvy place. The people there live in direct opposition to ourselves. They get up when we go to bed; celebrate Christmas in midsummer; go north in winter to get warm; and go south in summer to get cool. It is a land of violent contrasts. There is excessive drought and fertile coast lands; big cities and open spaces. It is a land of supremely graceful and refreshingly aromatic gum trees; a land of kaleidoscopic wild flower pageantry; of beautiful birds rich in plumage and song. In the out-back country life is hard, riding over burning plains after sheep and cattle, and tilling the soil for wheat. There is an old Spanish proverb which says, " 'Take what you like' says God, 'take what you like but pay for it'." That has been true of the romantic story of the progress of civilization in Australia. It is said that in the early days of settlement the silent monotonous bush swallowed up the people who strayed far into it. Also that many went eccentric and even mad in the silence and loneliness of the land. A story is told of an old fossicker who made his camp by a billabong. A fossicker is one who goes along the river banks panning for gold, and a billabong is a water-hole or washing place. After a while a boundary-rider appeared and camped near by: "Good morning" said the boundary rider. "Hmp" replied old fossicker. "How's things" said boundary rider. "Hmp" replied old fossicker. Next morning the old fossicker was packing up, "Moving on?" said the boundary rider. "Hmp, too much damned conversation." In 1874 a pioneer named Forrest crossed Australia from East to West through a country of which he said the very sight it was enough to daunt a man and kill a horse. But it makes men, moulds and hardens them into the splendid stuff that built the Aussie who won immortality for his race on the fields of glory.

To this land there went in 1770 from Whitby, England, a grocer's apprentice, James Cook. In the name of the King's Majesty he took possession of the Eastern part of the continent. Eighteen years later Captain Arthur Phillip arrived with the first batch of white people to settle in the new land which Cook had discovered. It was to be expected that these first settlers would lay good foundations inasmuch as they were a company of picked men—the best Judges of England picked them.

The Island-Continent, while in area is twenty-five times the size of Great Britain and Ireland, and three quarters the size of Europe, contains only .35 percent of the world's population, namely; 7,000,000. 87% of which are Australian born, and 99% British stock, living up to the best traditions of British justice, humanity, and hospitality. Because of the lack of mountains and watersheds, one-third of the area of Australia provides no reasonable living; one-third is sufficient for only a sparse population of pastoralists. Most of the remainder, from the coast to within 300 miles inland, is fertile.

Despite the fact of the forbidding nature of the country which greeted the first settlers with clenched fist, development has been such that within a century and a half 35,000,000 acres have been brought under cultivation.

Australia is the Land of the Golden Fleece. In May, 1788, the country boasted 29 sheep. Thirty-five years later the number had increased to 156,000. Today the sheep population is 105,000,000. The fact of a serious drought last year resulting in the death of ten million sheep has in no sense brought discouragement to the sheep raisers. Sir Frederick MacMaster, one of the most successful sheep men of the Commonwealth, whose station is 35,000 acres, gave it as his opinion that Nature must not be blamed for the drought conditions. He said, "It is not Nature that has brought this calamity upon us. It is the greed of man who is anxious to put as many sheep as possible on the acreage that the animals may nibble every blade of grass." He urges the policy of understocking, that is, less sheep per acre, indeed it should be less than one sheep for every acre of land. In addition to this there should be a practice of reserve stocking—setting aside certain areas to which the sheep have no access, thus giving the grass full opportunity to grow. "This", he says, "will solve the problem and increase the quality and quantity of wool which the Australian sheep stations will produce." At the present time Australia provides forty percent of the world's wool, while she has less than 1/6 of the world's sheep. The annual wool clip for the Commonwealth represents, at present prices, a value of £65 million.

The rabbit industry of Australia is commanding world-wide attention. Some idea of its extent may be gathered from the following figures, namely; in Sydney last year 3,500 tons of rabbit skins were auctioned and there are about eleven skins to the pound. The price is £750 per ton. The best grade of skins will fetch £1 of Australian money for one pound of skins.

Australia's wheat harvest is approximately 100,000,000 bushels. In Queensland and New South Wales there are 357,000 acres producing sugar-cane, with an annual yield of 5,500,000 tons. Australia has 13,000,000 head of cattle and 1,700,000 horses. She grows a great variety of fruit including, apples, oranges, bananas, peaches, grapefruit, cherries, pears, pineapples, raisins, lemons, figs, and strawberries. Her vineyards comprise 123,000 acres. In two irrigation districts in New South Wales she produces annually 1,000,000 bushels of rice. Australia boasts some of the world's finest and tallest hardwood trees and is devising methods whereby hardwoods can be used in the development of her pulp industry.

In the days of the Gold rush diggers went from California to the Australian fields and Australian diggers went to the Californian fields. The rush meant a big influx to the population. Squatters in the land took up a hostile attitude to the Gold seekers. The Legislative Council of Victoria, a stronghold of squatters, prohibited the sale of liquor at the diggings. In reply the diggers made a stockade at Ballarat, with the intent of resisting inspection. A pitched battle took place between the State soldiers and the miners, and one captain and four privates and sixteen miners were killed. It was a small incident, but of great historical importance for it represented the first real gesture of the spirit of Australia against oppression, a spirit which flowered into the gallntry of two World Wars.

Her two largest cities, Sydney and Melbourne, have a combined population of 2,300,000, practically 1/3 of the total population of the country. Sydney ranks second in size only to London, among the white cities of the Empire, and her harbour, spanned by the great Sydney bridge, is judged to be one of the finest in the world.

And so through pastoral developments, industrial and mining activities, and the growth of cities, Australia in the short space of 150 years has become the big Dominion which we know today.

The subject of my address, "Australia Looks Ahead," bears a definite relationship to the Commonwealth's political, industrial, and economic future. During the time that I was in Australia I experienced strenuous strike conditions. A miners' strike in New South Wales had brought about a serious power shortage with the result that industry was severely handicapped and rigid restrictions with regard to the use of electricity had to be enforced. In a Sydney morning paper I saw a picture of an Australian soldier bringing home from Borneo a kerosene lamp in order that he might see his way about Sydney—a weird home-coming for battle heroes who thought they made the world safe for a decent citizenship. It was a black Christmas "Down-under," all brought about by 3,000 to 4,000 workers whose efforts put half a million men, representing miners, iron workers, steel workers, and seamen, out of work. The trouble started when the miners refused to accept an award by the State of New South Wales' Arbitration Board. While this was a serious condition for Australia it was not different from what most Nations are experiencing at the present time. Indeed, the industrial conditions in Australia are not as critical as in some other parts of the world. An American business man who has been living in Australia but who recently went on a business trip to the United States, said upon his return to the Commonwealth that he was glad to be back. As he put it in speaking to Australians, "You have a bubble which is about to burst. In the United States we have 135,000,000 people living on the edge of a surging volcano."

Leaders in Australian life, the heads of the Governments and of Industry, together with Economists, realize that as the Nation faces the problems of the post-war era, certain fundamental facts must be kept to the fore. One such is, that Governments must have the full co-operation of Private Enterprise must have the assurance of full co-operation on the part of Governments.

In dramatic fashion Australia was brought to a realization that, while she had escaped invasion by the Japs, she was faced with a serious threat of invasion by the forces of Radical Socialism which are making desperate attempts to get a strangle-hold on the Nation. I believe that the average working man in Australia, as elsewhere, is desirous of getting on with his job, and doing it well, but he finds himself in the grip of professional agitators whose following pack meetings of workers where questions of wages, of hours, of labour, and other vital issues are discussed not fairly and impartially, and when a strike vote is taken it is an open vote, and any man who dares to raise a negative hand is denounced as a scab. At a Press conference I suggested the only solution to such a situation would be the use of the secret ballot. In Australia they have a system of compulsory voting in the electing of the representatives of the people. I did not suggest compulsory voting to express an opinion for or against a strike, this would not be democratic. On the other hand the secret ballot, which is a sacred institution of our democratic way of life, provides the only satisfactory solution to a vicious industrial situation which, in Australia as elsewhere, has developed tremendous strength.

The attitude of Left Wing Unionists in Australia is summed up menacingly by this quotation from a speech of one of their leaders—"The functions of Arbitrationist Legalism are to prevent strike struggles and to enforce acceptance, by law, of a low standard of living. It will be seen at once that Arbitration is detrimental to the development of the class struggle, and class consciousness, and that genuine and fundamental solidarity necessary to the revolutionary struggle of Socialism. The Communists regard the State Controlled Arbitration System as a pernicious, anti-working class institution, whose objective is to keep the worker shackled to the Capitalist State. We fight against this arbitration relying on the sanity and organization of the workers in the struggle to improve conditions."

Thus this element, numerically small and insignificant, would declare war on a system which has grown with almost universal approval into the fabric of the Australian Economy. They are stubbornly blind to the fact that by adopting an Anti-Government, Anti-Constitutional attitude, and thinking only in terms of what they as a section of the community, wish and will have, whatever the cost, they are disrupting Australia's normal, economic way of life; crippling her industry; undermining her Overseas trade and closing the door to Overseas investment in Australia. If they had their way they would reduce Australia's status to that of a puppet State, a third class Nation, without financial stability or adequate means of establishing her future as a strong people, capable of shaping a destiny worthy of her citizens and her resources, and totally unequal to the task of providing for herself the necessary defence of her territory against threat of aggression by a grasping lustful foe.

I witnessed public opinion rising rapidly to form a bulwark of resentment against the strike, which was a test deliberately sought by the Communist Party to destroy the arbitration system and so establish a Communist dictatorship over Australian industry. The attitude of the average citizen was that the Communist leaders must be so completely beaten on that issue that Unionism will be purged of their influence and of their doctrines, and that the menace of their efforts to disrupt the Labour movement and destroy the Australian Democracy shall be once and forever removed. The Prime Minister, Mr. Chifley, head of a Labour Administration, displayed moral courage and political sagacity when he refused to yield to the demands of the Communists. His action satisfied Trade Unionism in general, and the Federal Government's show-down, which resulted in the surrender of the strikers, was a real contribution to the fortifying of what appeared to be a wobbling Democracy in that great country. Perhaps out of it all Australia will play a leading part in the task of making sure the Peace for which humanity has paid such a bitter price to secure.

One of the questions being asked in Australia, as I suppose it is being asked everywhere, is, "What is the triumph of Democracy?" It is the question of men who tramped the highways of hell to ferret out the wild-beasts of hatred in the jungles of the Pacific, the mountains of Italy, and the deserts in the Middle East. These men have a right to know the answer, and the security of civilization for all classes of the people depends upon what is the answer. Of course, we regard as one of the fruits of victory the establishment of Social Security. One aspect of that Security is Full Employment. Federal and State Governments in Australia are not being allowed to forget or side-step that issue. The Commonwealth Government recently passed a "Re-establishment and Employment Act." This Act provides ample legal provision for the training required for the rehabilitation of members of the Services, whose occupational training was interrupted by the war, or had never begun. All this is basic to a policy of high and stable employment. The Government recognizes that it is not satisfactory to have a policy of starting public works just for the sake of mopping up unemployment. Such a system would ultimately break down by reason of its own costly weight. Further, it is recognized that planned full-employment presents many difficulties and the result may be not full-employment but a very low level of employment, involving manpower organizations directing people where, and at what they are to work, and perhaps compelling them. Australia's "Re-establishment and Employment Act" sets out to counteract and off-set this danger.

The problem of Employment as it relates itself to other countries who are her customers is of intense interest to Australia. In the past her depressions have come to her from abroad. Mr. Melville, acting president of the Commonwealth Bank of Australia, and Australian representative at the Bretton Woods Conference, said in a recent address, "It is when export prices fall, and remain depressed for some time, that business activity falls off. Perhaps that is becoming less true with

Australia's industrial development and may be less true after the war than it was before. Nevertheless, fluctuations in the prices of Australian exports are still likely to play a dominant part in our affairs. This means that we shall be facing a different type of problem from that which the United States and Great Britain will have to face. If those countries can maintain full employment, perhaps the prices of our exports will not fluctuate very greatly, and the difficulties of our problem will be greatly reduced. If, however, they fail to maintain full employment, then we shall have to face our own peculiar problem. We shall have to try to find ways of countering the effects of a fall in export prices by an expansion of private and public investment." All this suggests that Australia's wool and wheat, which are her chief exports, face an uncertain future.

Australia is watching Britain very closely.—Britain's Financial Policy; her Budgeting Policy; her Policy in relation to the retention of Controls; of co-operation in Industry and Agriculture; of encouraging exports and developing markets. And as Australia observes Britain's Industrial and Economic picture she seeks to copy it to the extent that it is applicable to the Australian Economy.

What about Australia's Foreign Policy? When I was crossing the Pacific on my return to Canada I gathered with fellow-passengers on the good ship "Mirrabooka", around the radio to listen to the news. Suddenly the announcer told us that in the election of members to the World Security Council two Nations failed to receive the requisite number of votes, Canada and Australia. Then he added that Canada had retired in favour of Australia. In our party, assembled in the little saloon of the steamer, were citizens of several countries, and when the announcement of this fine gesture on the part of our Dominion was made they looked towards me and gave a gracious nod of tribute. I felt a tingle of pride that I was a citizen of Canada. The action of the Dominion, of the Dominion's representatives in London, indicated Canada's recognition of the fact that Australia is destined to occupy an important place at the Council Board of the Nations.

Australia may appear on the map like a country far-removed from the rest of the world. This sense of isolation has ever been present in the minds of Australians. But a new day has dawned when the miracle of modern transport has brought the ends of the earth to our very back doors. We realize what is an age-long principle, namely; that no Nation, however far removed geographically, can live apart from the rest of the world. Australia is vividly conscious of the fact that what is happening in other parts of the Globe affects very considerably her own development. Twice have events in Europe led to Australia's participation in wars outside of her boundaries, and on several occasions world-wide depressions have caused great re-adjustments in the Australian Economy. This last great conflict has revealed that for better or worse she has vital interests in Eastern and Southern Asia, and in relations between Asia and America.

One factor towards off-setting the smallness of her population and the limitation of her resources is her membership in the British Commonwealth and in the Anglo-American group of Nations. She has a relatively favourable trade position and as a consequence has achieved a relatively high standard of living. Most of her resources have been devoted to her peaceful development without heavy expenditures on defence armaments.

One thing the war has done for Australia is to bring home to her an awareness of the strategic implications of the Continent's geographic position. No longer does she think of the main land of Asia as the Far East, but rather as the Near North. And the Japanese threat and attempts at the invasion of Australia indicates that she is an Asiatic as well as a Pacific Power—a Continental pendant to the Asiatic mainland connected by an easily traversable string of peninsulas and islands.

There was a time when Australia had no say and little interest in questions of Foreign Policy. She talked in easy language of the Yellow Peril, but it was not until

1935 that she really began to take external affairs seriously. She did not believe that her own security was in danger. At any rate she knew that a burly policeman was always on traffic duty off her Northern borders, in the person of the British Navy. Australia was secure, so she thought, but there came a day when she realized that she dare not expect the Navy of the Motherland to do everything and be everywhere. In 1942 this far-off country would have been invaded by the Japs had it not been for American aid. Wherever you go in Australia you find absolute agreement on that question. So the idea of an invulnerable Australia was an empty dream, and with the awakening came the realization that although Germany and Japan were thrown out upon the scrap-heap, Australia, to safeguard her future, must address herself intensely to the development of an adequate Foreign Policy.

Japan, China and India have visions of being great World Powers, the equal of the mighty Powers of the Western world. It is true that Japan's aspirations have been dealt a disastrous and devastating blow, but she must be closely watched. Doubtless she will be a thorn in Australia flesh. What trade will be possible with her, and what restrictions, territorily and militarily will have to be enforced remain to be seen. The blunt fact which must be faced is this, that if the Western Pacific, or the Indian Ocean were to fall under the domination of aggressive, anti-Western Powers or Coalition of Powers, Australia would be a doomed Nation. Therefore she is convinced that she must maintain, to the fullest possible extent, her political and economic ties with Britain and the United States. While she has a tremendous appreciation of the value of American military and economic aid during the war, events have deepened her conviction that now that the conflict is over, stable conditions in the Pacific cannot be assured apart from International collaboration for the maintenance of peace.

She is aware of what is involved in the Good Neighborly Policy advocated by the late President Roosevelt. It has a meaning for her that we, on the North American continent, cannot comprehend. Our good neighborliness brings instantly to mind the ties of friendship between our two great Nations of the North American Continent, and we accept this as a matter of course. Yonder in the Pacific good neighborliness among freedom-loving and peace-aspiring Nations represents a potent force necessary to the holding back of aggressive Powers. Powers that will seize upon any weakening of the bonds of International co-operation and accord to satisfy their selfish lust for territorial and political gain. Thus, a good neighbor policy, which means in effect collaboration on a free and equal basis by all Pacific Nations, is a matter of first importance if peace in the Indo-Pacific area is to be assured. That is why Britain and the United States must recognize to the full their responsibility in assisting Australia to strengthen and enlarge her economic ties, and to attain such markets as are necessary if she is to find herself adequately prepared for her part and place in the new world of Peace and Prosperity.

It is but the summing up of the matter to say that the Commonwealth is looking three ways. In the first place, she is looking towards the Asiatic mainland. Secondly, she is looking towards the United States. It is interesting to note when Australia fashioned her Constitution she studied the experiences of the United States with whose sons she fought shoulder to shoulder for the sake of the great Freedoms, Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness, which is but a revised version of the epic words of the great emancipator, "That Government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth." The other angle of vision is towards Great Britain, for she possesses a consuming loyalty to the Motherland. One reason why Mr. Winston Churchill or any other Statesman will not sit in at the liquidation of the British Empire is that crimson thread of kinship which binds the Nations of the Commonwealth to the Motherland by those hallowed ties which have made of our Empire, "This great family". And so, as in Canada, there is in Australia a two-fold patriotism—the Australian and the Imperial. We, of this Dominion, appreciate the sentiment of the Australian poet, William Charles Wentworth, who concluded his poem on "Australasia" with the following apostrophe to the Britain he ever loved:

"May all thy glories in another sphere
Relume, and shine more brightly still than here;
May this, thy last born infant, then arise
To glad thy heart, and greet thy parent eyes;
And Australasia float with flag unfurl'd
A new Britannia in another world."

In the city of Melbourne stands an imposing shrine to the heroes of Gallipoli and other fields of conflict in the First World War. Within this Shrine is an Altar of Remembrance. High on the Eastern wall of the building is a tiny aperture and at the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month a ray of sunlight passes through the aperture and falls upon the centre of the Altar and illumines the words, "Greater love hath no man". So with a holy flame of freedom, lighted at the Altar fires of sacrifice, burning within her breast Australia looks ahead and marches ahead to a glorious and undying destiny in the unfolding drama of 20th Century civilization.

"THE EMPIRE IN AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST"

An Address By

MAJOR F. J. NEY, M.C.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, March 21, 1946

Mr. Thompson: Gentlemen, in introducing to you our guest of honour, I do not think that I can do better than make use of the title given him by the Press, that of "British-Canadian Liaison Officer Extraordinary".

Born and educated in England, he lived for a few years in the Mid-East and, whilst there, served as the Headmaster of schools in Cyprus and in Egypt. He came to Canada in 1909, taking the position of Chief Secretary, Department of Education for the Province of Manitoba.

In 1910, he founded the Overseas Education League, through whose auspices so many students and teachers have been enabled to visit other parts of the Empire.

In September, 1914, he joined the British Expeditionary Force, was mentioned in despatches three times and was awarded the Military Cross, the Belgian, also the French Croir de Guerre.

He returned to Canada in 1920, at which time it was mainly through his efforts that the National Council of Education came into existence and today he is the Executive Vice-President of that organization.

Credit goes to him for the formation of the National Lectureship Scheme, which brought to this country more than 200 distinguished men and women who through their addresses made a splendid contribution to the various fields of human endeavour.

He is the originator and founder of the Empire Youth Movement, inaugurated in 1937 in England and Canada and which is now being developed in all parts of the Empire.

When the evacuation of England took place in 1940, it was through his arrangements that several hundred Public School children were brought to Canada and affiliated with Private Schools here.

A Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, of the Royal Empire Society and the Royal Zoological Society, he has been honoured by St. Andrews University of Scotland with the Degree of Doctor of Laws.

He has just returned to Canada after extensive travel throughout South Africa, the Middle East and the Continent, under various auspices.

Gentlemen, it is with pleasure that I now present to you Major F. J. Ney, M.C., who will address us on the subject: "The Empire in Africa and the Middle East".

MAJOR F. J. NEY: May I, first of all, Mr. President, assure you and the members of the Empire Club of Toronto, how greatly I value the honor you have done me in inviting me to be your guest today.

Though I still speak with the tongue of an Englishman, as I am not infrequently reminded, I have lived in Canada and served her to the best of my ability for 38 years. I am not indulging in clichés when I say that I should be very happy indeed to regard today's honour as the crowning satisfaction of these years. But, many as the years have been—I can assure you I am not yet seeking a crown—in Canada, or elsewhere! Indeed, it is obvious that in this urgent, angry hour, that there is still much to be done, though the time in which to do it may now be short.

It was this conviction which, following a year in Great Britain under the aegis of The Ministry of Information, led me to accept an invitation to visit South Africa—an invitation extended in 1938 through Lieut. Colonel E. G. Malherbe, soon to become Director of Military Intelligence. Once the journey had been decided upon, the plans developed quickly and extensively. Ultimately my itinerary covered not only South Africa, as the joint guest of The Union Government and The Rhodes Trust, but practically the whole of that great Continent, the islands of the Indian Ocean and the Middle East. I served jointly under various auspices including the East Africa Command and the Middle East Command. In all I have covered over 50,000 miles. Obviously, therefore, I must rely upon both the imagination and the knowledge of my audience, seen and unseen, if the story of this lengthy Odyssey is to appear at all intelligible. We may linger but very briefly at stopping places so full of interest both to mind and eye, that they must be seen to be either understood or fully appreciated. Our halts must not only be brief but fewer in number than I could wish.

I set out in convoy from Liverpool on a cold November day in 1942—with influenza and a temperature of over 103. It was a bad start, for I had broken the rules at the outset, having but shortly before signed a document to the effect that I was perfectly fit.

The story of the voyage itself would make a not unworthy subject for such a meeting as this, for it was one continual thrill. Every stage of the long voyage when the submarine warfare was at its height, filled me with increasing admirating for the organization which lay behind it and the courage of those veteran commanders who, night and day, lived upon the bridge and the officers and men who sailed the many ships of the convoy.

It is from the bridge of one of these small ships—the "Sarpedon" of 7,000 tons—that this sketchy survey of the Empire in Africa and the Middle East must, must in any event, begin. But one incident of that memorable voyage of 39 days must suffice.

We proceeded by devious courses in convoy as far as Takarada on the West Coast. As in a large well-run railway system, we reached unmarked junctions upon our route from where ships went forth upon their different duties or where we were joined by others coming out of the East or West, nosing their way to their appointed stations without fuss or incident. These, like the "Sarpedon", were veterans: they knew their job. It was fascinating to watch them coming and going. No more punctual schedule was ever maintained; there was never a hitch.

But there came a day when, arriving on deck one morning, I found we were alone. There were tell tale wisps and lines of smoke upon the horizon—emphasizing the fact that from now on, we were to proceed upon our long journey alone—trusting, presumably, to our speed. I climbed to the bridge to see if the Captain were in a happier mood, for he loathed convoys. "He'd much rather be on his own", he was constantly saying, and, as I anticipated, he *was* happier.

I asked him what was our top speed—we had become great friends and were now alone, so that he could be confidential. "Well," he replied, with all the pride of a Nelson and the assurance of a Drake, "We might blow our ruddy funnels sky high, but we *could* do a good 10½ knots". "Grand", I replied, "After all the new subs can *only* do 16".

There were, of course, moments of excitement, but on Christmas Eve, 1942, in a temperature in the shade of 93, we landed at Cape Town, that lovely city at Africa's southernmost point, the great headland of which Sir Francis Drake, looking up to it from the deck of the famous Golden Hind has written, "This Cape is the most stately thing and the finest cape that we have seen in the whole circumference of the earth". The table cloth of white cloud was thoughtfully spread over Table Mountain and the Cape Rollers rolled and rocked our stout-hearted "Sarpedon". All was as it should be; a never-to-be-forgotten voyage had come to an end. I was in the Union of South Africa, one of the most hospitable countries in the world. Of this I shall hope to say more on some other occasion. Today, we are thinking of the Empire in Africa, rather than of the countries and the regions which comprise it.

There are but just over three million Europeans in the whole of Africa, and of these, a little more than two million live in the Union. In Canada, we generally assume that South Africa is a young country. As a Nation it is, but it is interesting to recall that the Hollander, Van Riebeck, established his settlements at the Cape of Good Hope only thirty years after the sailing of the Mayflower. Cape Town itself, was born before New York or Washington had been heard of. It had become of considerable importance, lying as it did on the sea route to the East, a century before the Battle of The Heights decided the destiny of Canada.

The history of the Cape Province and of the Union is too well known to need more than a word. Following the Dutch came the British; the former afterwards moved North on their Great Trek and Britain ultimately paid Holland four million pounds for the Colony, only to "contribute" it to the Union which resulted from the Boer War and a treaty without precedent in history. That it's terms were wise and the generosity of the victor a rich investment in goodwill and understanding, the years have magnificently demonstrated. Unity has been built in the face of two great wars involving immense strain upon loyalties and national temperaments and despite a most regrettable controversy over the Union's flag. Civil war was narrowly averted after no little bloodshed and the country divided as it never had been since the signing of the Treaty of Veerninging. Today, South Africa flies two flags—the Union Jack and the Union Ensign. In the latter, the Union Jack occupies a pitiably small segment. The decision arising out of bitter controversy resulted in a flag which satisfied neither Africaander nor Briton—a fact from which we in Canada may possibly have something to learn. The subsequent integration of South Africa is illustrated by the fact that the Union forces in the World War comprised percentages of the two races exactly corresponding to those of the nation as a whole, these being approximately 65 per cent Africaans and 35 per cent British.

I believe South Africa has chosen its path of destiny if only by reason of her position on the frontiers of Asia, on which I shall have something more to say later. I believe that South Africa intends to remain in the Imperial

Commonwealth. I believe the Union regards it as an excellent Club, membership in which possesses many advantages and carries with it an honour second to none of it's kind. Incidentally, no good club ever touts for members as is now being so notably demonstrated by Britain's attitude to India, and in the constitution of the new Union in Malaya. Possibly the greatest tribute paid to this world-wide club was made by that great South African soldier and statesman, Denys Reitz, just before his death in London, in a foreword to an exceptionally interesting volume by Julian Mockford, called "Here are South Africans", "In the war of 1899-1902", wrote Denys Reitz, "I served as a private soldier under Field-Marshal Smuts and when we were defeated, I for one, went into exile rather than live under the Union Jack. But Mr. Mockford tells us how the wheel has come full circle. How the British, having defeated us, dealt so magnanimously with South Africa, that we old recalcitrants are content in the knowledge that within the four corners of the Empire we enjoy complete liberty, a liberty greater than we possessed under our own rule of long ago."

But I must hurry on for we have still great distances to travel and many calls to make.

Thus far I have spoken only of the Union and of it's white population of two millions. What of the African who numbers in the Union alone, over nine million, presenting a problem the solution to which no man can see?

But I must say a word about the three Native Territories which lie within the Union, yet form no part of it. Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland, all of which I visited. The Basuto is a splendid fellow—with a desperately keen appreciation of his personal freedom under the Colonial Office Administration. Much the same can be said for the Swazis and the Bechunas.

It cannot be denied however that in all three territories there is a prejudice against the Union based upon historic rather than current policies.

It was some part of my programme, indeed, an important part, to meet the African in all the British Colonies and personally and without reference to local authority ascertain his attitude towards the Empire and those immediately responsible for his welfare and safety. May I then, as we go Northward, illustrate the response to my enquiries as briefly as possible. For our purposes, let us assume that my question throughout is the same: "Do you wish the British to go and some International organization to take you over?" Here, then, are some of the answers:—

In Bastuoland, at Maseru the Capital:—"No, we would rather die".

In Bechuanaland, at Serowe:—"No! for then we should have neither Father or Mother". This from a grey-haired chief, well over 70.

In Tanganyika, which as you know is a mandated territory: "The only change we want is to become a real part of the Empire. We went to *belong!"*

And so on, through the Rhodesias, Kenya, Uganda and Somaliland, and out to the islands in the Indian Ocean. The answer was always the same though the language and the expressions varied.

I think, for instance, of an occasion when in Kenya Colony, I stood in an "Information Hut" used in the training of the African as a soldier. And how splendid a soldier he has proved, only those who fought beside him in Burma can tell you!

A small group and I were standing before a map of the world—with the Empire coloured in red. I had been showing them where I came from and emphasizing the greatness of this family of peoples to which a quarter of mankind belonged. There followed a silence—a characteristic *achievement* of the African. Then a Sergeant, speaking as if to himself said: "Yes—one great Shamba". Here was his idea of the Empire—a great Shamba, a home and garden and family, all in one, for such is the Shamba to the African. It is his all.

But we are visiting Africa, not merely British Africa, for we need to know something of the influence which the Empire exerts on the rest of the Continent. Because of that, among others, I paid two visits to Ethiopia, first as the guest of the British Mission and afterwards at the request of the Emperor. Time permits of one observation only and I make it merely to illustrate that Britain is not always the preying overlord her enemies—and not a few of her supposed "disinterested" friends—so often proclaim to be. Ethiopia was, it will be recalled, the first of the enslaved nations to be freed. Only Empire forces were used but in a subsequent understanding reached with our great southern neighbour, the British accepted the Military Mission; the U. S. A. accepted the economic.

The British Mission is headed by one of the finest officers and men I have ever been privileged to meet—Major General Cottam. It was he who provided me with one of the most significant experiences of my African journey, by asking me to inspect his Boy's Battalion on parade and afterwards to give them a talk. Here were boys he had literally gathered in from the gutters and off the steps of the brothels of Addis Ababa. Disciplined and trained to honour the simple uniforms he provided, these boys constituted the greatest satisfaction his difficult task had afforded him. Everywhere he went, boys would rush his car and thrust little pieces of paper in the window as a plea to be allowed to join his Boy's Battalion, then numbering about 500. It happened every time we drove through Addis Ababa.

"What a pity", I said on one occasion, "that you can't double the size of it". "Yes" he said quietly, "I should like to do that immensely, but it costs quite a bit of money you know!"

The Economic Mission, as I have already said, was undertaken by the United States. Recently, it was announced that it had acquired the mineral rights of Ethiopia for 50 years. It, too, undoubtedly, will do a good job to the advantage of both countries.

The most amazing, and I think the most inspiring place in Africa, is Khartoum, the capital of the Soudan, which, frankly, I believe to be the best governed country in the world: its people certainly among the happiest. It is the best possible monument to the Empire in Africa. It is, as you know, an Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, a form of dual administration which obviously has many advantages. Khartoum, as many will recall, was town-planned by Kitchener, an engineer of no mean capacity. It's broad avenues and fine streets follow the lines of the Union Jack. The city is one of the cleanest and the best administered in Africa, with buildings which would do credit to any of the modern cities of North America.

Across the river is Omdurman, the largest African city on the Continent. Here, one evening I spoke to a large audience of Soudanese soldiers and afterwards showed them a part of .the official film on the King's visit to Canada. From the moment the "Empress of Australia" arrived in Quebec, to the end of the film, these fine, tall, swarthy soldiers joined in Canada's welcome and in the cheers of the Canadian crowd. It was a touching experience. Afterwards, I expressed to the British Resident Commissioner, that the echoes of these cheers would not reach the Abdin Palace in Cairo!

And because the Anglo-Egyptian Condominum has been so great a success, I suggest the same principle might be adopted in deciding the future of the ex-Italian Colonies in Africa, Britain participating with Ethiopia in Eirtrea and with Italy in Tripolitania. Thus would Ethiopia be given a much-needed outlet to the sea and means to that assistance from Britain which is so much desired. Italy, on the other hand, would not be cut off from Africa where her colonization has on the whole, been of a high order and where, in association with Britian, that work could be carried on to it's logical conclusion and under humane conditions. The British and Somali Territories on the East Coast must obviously be united under Britain to the essential grass lands of the Ogaden, for which area Ethiopia should, in my opinion, be amply compensated by the joint acquistion of Eritrea and by a cash payment of considerable size The days of the scramble for Africa are over and on no account must that policy be re-started by the admission of Russia's claim to Tripolotania That way lies grave danger to the whole continent and to the Western World. From Capetown to the Mediterranean, Africa is stirring, not only because of world events and the call to the natives from alien sources and from malcontents within, but by virtue of the impact of Asia which is so clearly to be seen all along the East Coast. Of all the continents, strategically, Africa has now become the most important. Asiatic bridgeheads, stretching along thousands of miles of it's coast facing the Indian Ocean have already been firmly established, making the fateful decision soon to be taken by India a matter of momentus concern to the West. Of the many impressions arising out of my African journey, this is outstanding. But it is more than an impression, it is a conviction which an impartial observer cannot escape.

There are, however, other impressions which fill one with less apprehension. Let me as briefly as possible, touch on one or two, for, like the Phoenicians, six centuries before the Christian Ere, I circumnavigated the whole of Africa, although in my case, I travelled by sea and air. I did more, for as the result of many deviations, I travelled extensively by car and plane in Central Africa, visiting not only Britain's colonies, but those of other nations too. I intend to draw no comparisons; merely to record impressions arising out of personal observation undertaken for a clearly defined purpose.

Looking back now, I am more than ever impressed by the outstanding fact that the world's greatest asset in Africa is the influence of Britain exerted through a small army of conscientious colonial administrators and founded upon a tradition of justice and humanity. Much has been left undone; often much might have been done better. It may be urged that economic development has been too slow, resulting in lower standards of living than should be tolerated. Perhaps that is true and yet, here in these British Colonies, it is undoubtedly true to say that you find more contentment and real happiness than are to be found anywhere in the world. Unconsciously, yet instinctively, the African finds in his association with the British Administrator, something that is more spiritual than political. He is made to feel that he "belongs" and that thanks to the British conception of trusteeship and fellowship rather than suzerainity, he remains *himself,* an African, with not a little pride of race and place. Like the British, he believes that speed may be an evil where the true good of man is concerned.

He does not want wealth, nor in most cases does he want to be harnessed to so-called democratic ways of government, responsibility for which he has neither the capacity nor the desire to assume. He has that inherent simple wisdom which convinces him that what has taken the British people a thousand years to achieve—rather imperfectly—he cannot do over night. For Africa's sake we shall do well to bear this in mind in this unsettled hour, for the political movements now to be discerned do not come spontaneously from the African people; they are foreign in origin, though in some cases, inspired and directed by Africans with foreign training and foreign money.

And this British influence of which I have spoken derives almost directly from the traditions of service built up by a mere handful of men and women who have devoted their lives to Africa. Here is something on which I should like to speak at length but time does not permit. I can only remind you of Cecil Rhodes, the real author of the South African Union, of Livingstone, the missionary in Central Africa and of Gordon, the soldier, in the north.

It was my very good fortune to be in Khartoum on Gordon's Sunday, a day given up to the memory of that great man.

Already Cairo had become clamorous for the Union of the Soudan, and in the afternoon I went to the old city of Omdurman to discuss this matter with a group of its principal sheiks. If my Omdurman friends know anything of this matter, and I have not misread the quiet thoughtful answers given to my questions, but very few Soudanese desire such a union. Indeed, the great majority, I was assured, would fight to the death rather than see it come to pass. They move forward to greater political freedom, not to thraldom under Egypt, a country which I know well enough to be certain of one thing. It is this. The present clamour for the hurried evacuation of British troops is desired only by a negligible portion of the Egyptian people. The many, including a large section of the educated and cultured classes as well as the Fellahin or peasants, are dubious as to the advantages to be gained by a break with Britain. The one fears the shadow of the Great Bear which hangs over the country; the other, the patient peasant, the corruption of the political leaders and the errant ways of justice.

And these fears are widely shared in varying degree by the countries of the Middle East, most of which I visited twice. Political exigencies lie closely at the root of the demands for Britain's exit. The news that Syria, with whose President I lunched in Damascus, has now requested that British troops be not withdrawn until the French depart, makes clear the intention underlying the original Syrian demands. Said a small group of business men in Beirut: "Take us into the Sterling Area and we will promise not to press our political aims for two years. We cannot build a stable economy upon an ever-weakening franc, in the future of which we have no confidence. We are actually a part of a large Sterling area and we cannot live as a franc island in the midst of it".

Said a well-known citizen of Baghdad, with whom I spent a most interesting and informative hour—"I have but one complaint to make of the English. She freed us from the Turks, started us upon the path of democracy and then left us while we were but learning to walk". In Palestine, the politically-dazed Jew, representing but a relatively small part of the old Hebrew population, makes demands which he now knows not only to be unfair but unwise. No longer orthodox, his own spiritual anchors having been lost in the sea of modern thought, he has been all too ready to listen to the insinuating whisper in his ear of an idealogy which promises all but can give so little.

Throughout the Middle East, as in India, that whisper is being heard with an ever growing fear at the heart. Now at the eleventh hour many are seeing that incipient chaos will but serve a powerful neighbour in search of a pretext to "adopt" smaller nations as a so-called means to the "security of his frontiers". Voices cautioning patience and order are being quietly insinuated into great masses of people from Hong Kong to Haifa. "Better a live dog than a dead lion", says the African and the wisdom of this is now beginning to percolate through the nations in this harrassed part of the world.

Congress and Moslem League in India warn the rioters in Bombay and Calcutta against the effects of their violence; Palestine takes time to do some thinking under quieter and less aggressive conditions; Syria bids the British troops stay; Iraq as a Sovereign State within the Empire now appears to many of its leaders, including the Regent, to be much desired, and Iran is wondering why the country has been left without the counterpoise of British and American troops.

It is all very confusing, for here in the Middle East we are beyond the frontiers of the British Empire. Here, true, are Mandates, but with no assured future of association with that Empire. And yet throughout these lands, as in Africa, British prestige and influences transcend that of all other nations or of groups of nations. This fact, in itself, is of vital importance, not only to those immediately concerned, but to the world as a whole. It is a fact in which we, as Canadians, should take a deep pride. This prestige is ours, too, to use for the good of mankind. To the peoples of these many lands which I have visited, the British Empire is a vital living organism; a mighty fellowship. They believe in it as a part of their faith. On its continuity they instinctively feel that all their hopes for the future depend. Those whom historic circumstance has decreed a measure—and it is only a measure—of political freedom, look at us, as I sum up the situation, with a suggestion of envy in their eyes. Were we, ourselves, to take that pride in it which is its due, that envy, I am convinced, would be turned to hope, and hope to longing. They know, these simple people, that they are free to live their own lives at this time, because the Empire has so fully justified itself as a servant to them and to mankind. They have seen that its *own* aspirations are *one* with those of mankind itself. Nothing but our own doubts, persistent disparagement of our own achievements and lack of a fiery faith in our mission, stand in the way of an ever-widening loyalty upon which the greater Commonwealth of Man may ultimately be built. Like ourselves, the Empire is not perfect, but it is the greatest political and humane achievement of all time and the only international organization which has thus far proved workable. If the United Nations Organization is to succeed it must go forward with the same spirit of tolerance and with the conviction that the freedom of the individual is a far more precious thing than so-called political independence. It is for such principles that we fought. The peace will be lost and the world turned over to savagery and chaos if now we forget them. They are the principles constituting the very essence of the Christian philosophy, now being challenged as never before in its history.

In conclusion, I turn again to Africa, where I have many friends whom I hope to see again soon. From the plane which takes me back to England, from Cairo to Benghazi, Castel, Benito and Cagliari, in my imagination I hear the voices and the many noises of that mysterious, fascinating, continent. I seem to hear heavy throbs upon the desert sands, made by great advancing hosts. Where do they come from? Where to? On what journey are they bent? Britain has built a bridge between Africa and the Western World and made Christianity a welcome and a hopeful way of life to millions of the African peoples. Will they take the road over that bridge, or, beguiled by a new and insistent teaching, turn north and east?

The answer must, I am convinced, largely rest with us. Our responsibility is heavy, though largely foreign to Canada. But we cannot avoid it and be true to our traditions or worthy of our heritage.

We, and the world owe much to the Empire in Africa, for if the population of the British Colonies had seized the opportunity and turned upon Britain, so critical was the situation at different stages of the war, that the Battle of North Africa might well have been lost. Indeed, that is more than probable. Much, too, is owed to the Union of South Africa, which, like Canada, was free to take its own way. But let us not forget that our gratitude is none the less due to the peoples of the Middle East, who, in the face of what appeared, from time to time, almost certain German victory, stood firmly with us. Faith in Britain and the Empire held, for which fact, let it not now be overlooked, the world of free men and those who would be free stands greatly in our debt.

From Halifax to Cambia, to Freetown and the Cape; from Pretoria to Mauritius and the Seychelles; to Dar-es-Salsam, Monbasa and Berberaa on the fiery Red Sea; from Addis Ababa to Khartoum; to Cairo and Jerusalem; to Baghdad, Demascus and Tehran, and in the many lands through which our long journey has taken us, whatever loyalty be held, instinctively the peoples know that while England and the Empire stand freedom cannot fall. It is that faith, which more than any other bond, shall yet knit together all mankind, if we, too, but hold it, fearlessly and with confidence in its power for universal good.

"SIX SIGNIFICANT WEEKS IN WORLD HISTORY"

An Address By

MR. JOHN C. DIEFENBAKER, K.C., M.P.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, March 28, 1946

Mr. Thompson: Gentlemen—in recent weeks, this club has been favoured by addresses from two of the Dominion's Cabinet Ministers and today we are honoured by the presence of one of Canada's most outstanding parliamentarians.

Born in Ontario, a fourth generation Canadian, whose ancestors on his paternal side were Dutch and maternal side, Scottish, he received his early education in Greater Toronto, at Plains Road School, Todmorden, where his father was the principal.

The family moved to Saskatchewan in 1903 and our speaker continued his schooling there, graduating from the University of Saskatchewan with the Degree of Master of Arts and Bachelor of Science.

During World War 1, he served overseas and, on his return, again attended the University of Saskatchewan, obtaining the degree of Bachelor of Laws. He was called to the Bar in 1919 and created a Kings Council in 1929 and today conducts one of the largest law counsel practices in Saskatchewan.

From the time he entered University, where he majored in Political Science, he has shown an aptitude for politics. For a time he was the leader of the Provincial Conservative Party in Saskatchewan and today represents the riding of Lake Centre in the Federal House as Progressive Conservative candidate.

Known as a fearless but fair critic of government policy, a man of high integrity, he has no patience with those who fail to live up to the principles by which they were elected.

A keen student of World affairs, a great believer in the Commonwealth and Empire, he will address us on the subject "Six Significant Weeks in World History".

Gentlemen, I have great pleasure indeed in presenting to you, Mr. John Diefenbaker, K.C., M.P.

MR. JOHN C. DIEFENBAKER: The past six weeks have been the most significant and momentous since 1933, in the history of man's quest towards peace. There has been a pronounced growth in the development of international law, as evidenced by the trials at Neurnburg. The UNO Conference at London performed its mechanical duties, the General Assembly elected the members of the Security Council and of the Inetrnational Court of Justice; the Atomic Energy Commission was set up to control the danger of world suicide. The Security Council, hampered though it was by the veto power, for the first time in history dealt with diplomatic matters in an open manner and Bevin and Vishinsky spoke to one another with such clarity that had they done so ten years ago, war would have been the inevitable result.

International disputes which otherwise might lead to war were dealt with—the Greek question raised by Russia, the Indonesian question raised by the Ukraine, the Persian dispute by Persia. There in brief is the credit side of the ledger.

The weaknesses of the United Nations Organization have become apparent and it can only succeed by the practice of tolerance and of mutual respect, and strict regard by *all* nations for international obligations. It can succeed and become a milestone in mankind's march to better things, if each and every nation is willing to make sacrifices and show the same courage for the achievement of peace that brought victory in war.

Will it succeed and will there be achieved the dream of San Francisco? I shall never forget the opening day in that Conference, when the great of many nations walked through the door-way of that hall up the steps and into history. There I saw a scene which I described when speaking in the House of Commons in these words:

"I saw a silent moving-picture which will never be erased from memory. Outside that opera house a large crowd of people were held back on the street by a cordon of police and among them was a woman wearing the gold stars of sacrifice. She who had sacrificed tried to enter; but the opportunity of being in the conference, which was called to ensure the culmination of the things for which her loved ones had died, was not to be hers. She could not enter; but she made her contribution when she, in the presence of thousands of people, knelt in silent prayer. That woman will have no place in history, along with the great of all the nations who fashioned this charter, she the unknown mother who, in the humility of unuttered prayer, gave inarticulate expression to the prayers of the world's billions who had representation at that conference. Hers was the expression of the hope of peace not for our tim but for all the time, and it came from the depths of her own sacrifice."

The truth of tomorrow is hidden in the news columns of today. This week the United Nations faces its greatest challenge. The liberty of the weak, the pledged word of nations, the principle of the Atlantic Charter will be at stake—yes, its very existence—and fearful though the prospect may be, unless its authority is recognized and accepted the hope and dream of mankind will have been dissipated possibly beyond recovery.

At this point, it might be worth while to read the wording of the preamble to the Charter of the United Nations:

"WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED TO SAVE succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

AND FOR THESE ENDS

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS."

A great declaration—and a casual reading is sufficient to show the departures that have taken place from the eternal principles it enunciated a short 10 months ago.

The world faces a crisis in security. Either the United Nations will have the power and central authority that cannot be challenged by any nation, and a new peace and new prosperity and freedom from fear will be the result; or we shall have a world in which aggressor nations tempted by the dream of world power and impelled by avarice and ambition, will await favourable opportunities to conquer the world. We shall either have a world in co-operation under law which is the basis of the UNO, or we enter a world controlled and dominated by autocratic power, wherein liberty and freedom will be but memories in the pages of history.

The weaknesses of UNO have become apparent. The veto power denies the right of the Security Council to proceed by armed force against any one of the 5 major powers, and the result is that today Russia in her search for security is surrounding herself by satellites of her own sponsorship and philosophy which in turn by reason of their alliances with Russia are themselves freed from the danger of being proceeded against for acts of aggression.

What is the picture we see unfolding to us. Our enemies in the last war overwhelmed; Britain being treated as a lesser power at Moscow last fall than ever before in three centuries, and faced throughout the world by difficulties in Palestine, in Egypt and in India; starvation and death the certain end of millions in Europe and in Asia; a world ripe for the dissemination of Communism, and the substitution of materialism for spiritual values; half of Germany under Russian occupation, and Communism proceeding apace; the establishment of Communistic satellites all over Europe; in the Balkans, Bulgaria and Romania with regimes sponsored by Russia; in Albania a Communist government with Russian officers in charge of the army, established within the past six weeks.

The last six weeks Russia has pushed on to all the oceans, and the principles of the Atlantic Charter being swept aside, and in particular the one that reads:

> "no territorial changes except with the freely expressed wishes of the place concerned."

In Greece the demand by Russia that Britain remove herself, thereby permitting the establishment of bases for Russia on the Dardanelles; the demand by Russia for a sole trusteeship over Tripolitania, whereby Britain's life line would be endangered; the tacit demand by Russia for the cession of the Kars Plateau by Turkey; the present situation in Iran, where oil is one aim, but a naval outlet for Russia on the Persian Gulf is another; the demand by Russia for bases on the Red Sea and Persian Gulf by establishment of a protectorship over Eritrea; the control by Russia of the Kuriles Islands and its joint control over Port Arthur and the port of Darien and the Manchurian Railway under the secret agreements arrived at at Yalta.

On February 4th—the former President of the USSR *Kalenen* attacked what he called reactionary socialists and social democratic parties in France, Britain and Belgium. On the same date *Molotov* used these words, in a speech:

> Russia "can solve all the tasks it sets itself if the pack of aggressor hounds is kept checked". (these were the statesmen of other nations whom he also denounc-

ed a "the warring groups of adventurers of some other countries found in the ruling classes." (Imperialists).

From all of this it appears that the *Bismark plan* of control to the gateway of India may now be in process of being achieved. The control of the Mediterranean and the control of Europe politically spells the end of Britain's control of her life line.

The past 6 weeks has indicated that Russia's aim is a world-wide Communism achieved by what is called "security" or in other words an "ideological hegemony" which extends Russian influence from Norway through the Baltic States and Czechoslovakia across Europe to Yugoslavia and Albania, and thence towards the East. Over the whole of Europe and Asia and even Africa, this power which meant so much to our victory during the days of war is now casting a dominating shadow.

What a change from the last war. After the last war the world wanted disarmament and naval limitation; now the estimated military preparations for the coming year will amount to 20 billion dollars, and great nations will have tremendous peacetime armies—Russia 5 million, the United States 2 million, and Great Britain 750,000.

On February 9th, *Marshal Stalin* in a speech announced the Soviet preparedness plan, a program for the nation's future. In that speech he averred that war was not the fault of some statesmen . . . it was, as he said, "The inevitable result of the development of the world economic and political forces on the basis of monopoly capitalism."

He said too, "Our Marxists declare that the capitalist system of world economy conceals elements of crisis and war", and then he set forth his belief that "the Soviet social system has proved to be more capable of life and more stable . . . and . . . is a better form of organization of society than any non-Soviet social system."

Stalin announced the 5 year plan, under which Russia will be economically secure and militarily secure "against any eventuality." It is a tremendous plan, and under it in 5 years' time the USSR will be producing 75% of the steel produced by the United States in 1945, 90% of the pig iron, and even more significant will control 58.7% of the oil resources of the world.

This is a picture that compels thought, and when one realizes that in 20 years the population of Russia will be 430 millions, and her military-age manpower strength only slightly less than that of the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Italy—the truth for tomorrow is indeed hidden in the news columns of today!

The world scene is challenging but not hopeless. Marshal Stalin spoke on the 22nd of March, showing a spirit of conciliation when he stated that no nations want war, and he affirmed his confidence in the UNO as a "serious instrument" for preserving peace. He admitted that there is a current fear of war, and expressed the hope that the United Nations Organization would succeed.

It must succeed, otherwise the world faces the danger of two ideologies facing each other in two armed camps. Marxism is the direct antithesis of the principles of Christianity.

Tolerance and clear-eyed statesmanship are needed to diminish Russian suspicion. The world cannot afford to despair of peace or of the success of the United Nations Organization. Iran's dispute I trust will be but one of many examples where great nations in their relations with small will fulfill their pledges to assure international security under law.

UNO must succeed or the hopes of the world will be dissipated and the international diseases of fear, distrust and suspicion will have destroyed the only instrument now existent between survival and the destruction of mankind.

The United Nations Organization must succeed, for to use the words of Sir Robert Borden, after the 1st war:

> "If, out of its limitless sacrifice, mankind may not gain redemption from such unendurable horrors in the future, where can we see one ray of hope to lighten the pathway that lies before the nations?"

Then too an organization was set up for peace by men with the same hopes, the same aspirations and the same dreams that are mankind's today. It failed—the reason being the vague responsibility that rested on the nations making up the organization. The League of Nations failed because it lacked the responsibility of all nations to keep peace because it decided each for itself when and where to cooperate.

The member nations of the League of Nations failed to underwrite world security absolutely and unequivocably; they underwrote it conditionally and partially.

The attitude of nations in the last few weeks has shown that they intend to assure that weakness to act now may not spell the beginning of the end of peace. I emphasize the necessity for a full realization of collective security, but I point out now that we must never forget that between 1931 and 1939 to maintain collective security it was necessary to have Commonwealth relations as well as cooperation with the United States.

I want to see developed within the British Empire and Commonwealth a solidarity in the days to come that was not ours in the matter of collective security in the days before the last war. *Field Marshal Smuts,* the author of the preamble of the United Nations Organization, used these words, which apply today as they did when spoken in the Union Assembly of South Africa:

> "Whatever emerges from the San Francisco conference, whatever world order may be established or whatever method of achieving security is reached, we shall not make the mistake of not looking after our own defence."

I believe that Canada's hope of survival is in strict adherence to the United Nations Organization and in closest cooperation with the Empire and Commonwealth. Fraternization, geography, sentiment and our own interests demand today as never before that everything be done on our part towards strengthening our Empire and Commonwealth, an example to the world of "unity in diversity" without which there can be no success in the United Nations Organization.

Canada has assumed tremendous responsibilities under the United Nations Organization, and if she is to remain the middle power and influential in world affairs, she cannot maintain that position by withdrawing troops from Europe at a time when Canadian troops, no less than British and United States troops are tired of being on duty. Canada has a moral obligation with other nations collectively, to maintain peace, and I fear very much by withdrawing at this time she may undermine the faith of other nations in the maintenance by her of strict adherence to her commitments.

It is natural that there should be pressure for the removal of the men who are overseas. They should come back, but the permanent force should take their place. Removal at this time suggests isolationism, retreat to the position that we took after World War I, when in 1918 the armies of United States and Canada left Europe at the earliest moment and left others to clear up the mess. That flight was the first indication of a spirit of isolationism that prevented a stable peace.

In my opinion a limited liability for the maintenance of peace on the part of Canada holds little hope for the future.

The United Nations Organization and the League of Nations are merely steps on the road to world government, the conception of which is to be found in the mechanics of the British Commonwealth and Empire. There will be failures—there will be difficulties. The individual state which is the highest form of organization known to man was not evolved without generations of experimentation and experience. The world state can only be achieved by consent, cooperation, tolerance—it cannot be achieved by force, as the history of Athens, Rome, France under Napoleon, and Germany under the Kaiser and Hitler show.

Anthony Eden at San Francisco said the Organization was "mankind's last chance". *Dr. Soong* said the aim was "human liberty within a commonwealth of people".

The last 6 weeks have been dark, but they must not fill the peoples of the world with disillusionment—they should fill us all with determination. Disillusionment will lead to apathy and isolationism—determination will lead to finding a way out of the difficulties that exist.

The United Nations must succeed, for if it does not a precarious peace outside of the United Nations Organization will lead to world war. Passions, prejudice and intolerance must be curtailed. Dark has been the path in recent weeks, fearful the prospect for the future, but that mother in San Francisco represents men and women everywhere in this world and pray for peace with "infinite passion and the pain of finite hearts that yearn".

"THE CHALLENGE WE FACE"

AN ADDRESS BY

MR. DONALD M. FLEMING, B.A., LL.B., K.C., M.P.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, April 4, 1946

MR. THOMPSON: Gentlemen, the Empire Club is very proud of having the privilege of bringing to its platform today one of it's own members and, one of Toronto's distinguished citizens.

Our guest of honour like many of Canada's leading man, is a product of Ontario, having been born in Exeter.

He received his early education in the Public Schools and Collegiate Institute of Galt and entered the University of Toronto with the reputation of an outstanding student. He graduated from the University with the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Laws and a brilliant record of scholarships. Among the many honours he earned was the Governor-Generals Gold Medal for general proficiency, the highest award in the Faculty of Arts, which was presented to him on graduation in 1925.

Called to the Bar in 1928, he has since practiced law in this city as a member of the well known law firm of Kingsmill, Mills, Price and Fleming. He was created a Kings Council in 1944 and has made many important contributions to his profession, being the author of a number of authoritative articles on legal subjects.

As a leader in public affairs, he has given unstintingly of his time and talents. As a churchman and an educationist he is in the front rank, being President of the Upper Canada Bible Society and a member of the Senate of the University of Toronto. He has as well been very active in the promotion of youth activities and is today President of the North Toronto Y.M.C.A.

After membership in the city council for six years, he offered himself as a candidate for the Federal House in

1945 and was elected with a handsome majority as Progressive Conservative member for the riding of Eglinton.

As in our own city council he has in the Dominion House, come to be recognized not only as a sincere student of public problems, but one who has the courage to express himself publicly and the soundness of his view have earned him high respect. A holder of profound convictions on Canada's position in the World of today, in relationship to other nations, he will address us on the subject "The Challenge we Face".

Gentlemen, it is with the greatest of pleasure that I introduce to you, Donald M. Fleming, B.A., LL.B., K.C., M.P.

MR. DONALD M. FLEMING: Mr. President and Fellow Members: It is a very high honour that you, Mr. President, have done me by your invitation to be the speaker at today's meeting of the Empire Club, and a high honour that my fellow members have done me in being present at the meeting. I think that when this honour is done to a local person, and particularly a member of the Club, it is proof abundant that I am not a prophet, and I need hardly add that, in the language of the movies, "any resemblance between the man you see before you and the man whom the President introduced in such glowing terms is purely coincidental."

The subject which I have been invited to speak to you on today is "The Challenge We Face". I suppose, among all the numerous hackneyed words in the English language, there is none that has become more hackneyed than the word "challenge".

I took the trouble to look up the dictionary definition of "challenge", in the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, and this is what I found: "A call to account, a summons to trial, or contest."

In this subject, when I speak of the challenge we face, I mean we Canadians. Now, to speak of the challenge that Canadians face is to give a very imperfect conception of one's thought. It might be more accurate to speak of the challenges that Canada faces, or in any event the many-sided challenge which Canada faces today.

The gauntlet has been thrown down to us by Destiny. The gauntlet thrown down by a needy world, a world that Mr. Churchill has described as "this haggard world".

If we as a nation didn't have a challenge, weren't conscious of one, then we ought to invent one, because without a sense of challenge thrown to us by Destiny, I question whether we will progress toward fixed national goals or objectives. We must have a national vision if we hope to progress as a nation.

Now I believe that we have a challenge, a challenge that all may see, and we need as a nation to discern that challenge and to recognize the fact that we have been challenged by Destiny.

It involves, of course, the element of choice. We have before us opportunity. It rests with us as Canadians to say whether we shall accept the gauge cast to us by Destiny or reject it.

We may say, on the one hand, well, we are not ready yet—we are a young nation, we may think we are not quite mature enough—we may say let us mind our own business as individuals and a nation—we may say well, we will think it over, we will let you know later.

The fact of the matter is there is a choice open to this country today which if not made the subject of firm decision by this country will not be offered to us again.

I don't mean to suggest by that that we are going in this year 1946, or the year 1947, to settle every problem that will face this country in the years to come. But I do say that the thing that is open to us as a nation may not be open to us at a future date and our conception of our calling as a nation and broad decisions in the light of that conception which should be made now will determine for years to come the broad line of our national development.

We need, it seems to me, two things. First a sense of our Destiny as a nation, and in the second place a sense of urgency in pressing toward our objective.

What is Canada's position in the world today? I think it might be described in two terms. First it is a strategic position, and in the second place it is a position that is expanding in importance and in influence. That fact is recognized abroad. We have ample evidence of that on every hand today. One wishes at times there were more evidence of recognition of that fact in Canada.

Now we have had some setbacks. I am not pretending for a moment that Canada's progress toward a world position is a progress that has not been marked by setbacks and disappointments. As a matter of fact we have had some within recent months. It was no little disappointment to this country not to be elected to a place on the Security Council of the United Nations Organization, but our failure to achieve that position was due to international politics.

What are the factors that have entered into the creation for Canada of this strategic position, this position of expanding importance and influence in the world today? Obviously, one factor is our geographic location. We are a North American Nation, and more and more the centre of world power has been shifting westward. The rise of the United States to a position of tremendous importance in the world has brought with it, necessarily, a place of increasing importance for this country as the principal neighbour of the United States. Yes, situated as we are alongside a nation which, if it rises to its opportunities, can be the world's leader today along with the British Commonwealth, our position is a happy one indeed.

We are also a land whose borders are washed by both the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. I mentioned the shift of what one might call the centre of world gravity westward. While whatever importance is retained by the Atlantic, and those nations whose lands are bordering on the Atlantic, we shall retain, but as well, with the shift of the centre of gravity toward the Pacific, our position as a Pacific power is bound to increase greatly.

The fact that we are a neighbour of Russia is also a factor of high importance in the developing world politics that we see today. We haven't been conscious in this country until recent months of the fact that we are a close neighbour of Russia. It is a fact that is bound to have very considerable importance in shaping the views and the policies of this country in years to come, and while one doesn't want to talk about wars, the fact of the matter is that those who are talking about war today are talking in terms of war that might involve Russia, on the one side, and the United States and other Western powers on the other. If that should happen, and God forbid that it ever should, Canada may expect to be the Belgium of the next war. I am not talking war. I say those who are talking war today, and are talking about the possibility of it, must face up to that unhappy situation.

Another factor of great importance has been our contribution to the winning of the war, both in human and material terms. That has had much to do with the world recognition of our increasing importance as a nation.

One might mention in the third place the intelligence and initiative of our own people, again our natural resources, and particularly in relation to the world situation today and the sad lack of foodstuffs in at least two continents of the world today.

Next, and I am not putting these in the order of their importance at all, our place within the British Commonwealth. It is the first factor in our relations with the world.

Next, the fall of three enemy powers which were before the war ranked as first class powers, to the level of second rate powers. Our three enemies during the past war were recognized prior to the war as three of the seven first class powers in the world. Three of them have disappeared as first class powers, and the plight of France has threatened to deprive her, for at least a time, of her position as a first rate power.

Next, our international trade.

Next, our possession or participation in, because we are not quite sure, apparently, of the secret of atomic energy. I think a number of people thought we shared in the secret of the atomic bomb. There seems to be some doubt on the point at the present time. At any event we have some assurance that we participated in the secret of atomic energy.

And then, last, and I think this is a factor that is worth mentioning, is the fact that as a nation we are a young nation. The older nations of the world have always had to live down some of the things in their long past, factors that have contributed to neutralize in some respect their influence in the world. Now, at least this can be said for Canada, that we have a short history as a nation, and we don't face any handicap of having things to live down.

All these, I suggest, are factors of first rate importance, and factors whose importance will continue to expand and exert a greater influence in the days to come.

Canada has emerged as a leading middle power. What is her future?

Well, there are a number of factors that have to be taken into account if we are going to take stock frankly of the situation confronting Canada today. In the first place, our population is small. Nowhere else in the world will you find the same low relationship of population to national heritage. We have great national handicaps to overcome. Geography has given us great advantages, geography has also created for us serious handicaps. Need I mention the Rockies? The great rock land of Northern Ontario, and the distance and the geographical barriers which separate the Maritimes from the rest of Canada?

One doesn't have to be in Ottawa very long to have an increasing appreciation of the courage and the foresight of the Fathers of Confederation. As a matter of fact one wonders, as one listens to some of the talks that certain persons engaged in there, whether the Fathers of Confederation if they could have foreseen, and could have heard in advance everything that has been said and done since, would have had the courage to go through and realize the dream of Confederation.

Well, in any event, our main need today is for the kind of courage that those Fathers of Confederation displayed.

The challenge we face—we—who are we? We are

Canadians. Canadian citizens? No. At the moment there is no such legal creature as a Canadian citizen. There may be before the present Session of Parliament has concluded. We are Canadians, that is to say we are subjects of His Majety, who make our homes in Canada.

One of the things I suggest in thinking of the relationship between ourselves as British subjects living within Canada and the creation of a Canadian citizenship must be this, that in moving forward to the one sense of Canadian citizenship, we do not lose our sense of an Empire citizenship, if that is, the price to be paid, the net result will be loss and not gain.

Where does this word "Canada" come from? Well, it comes from the word "Canadienne". It is not an English word to begin with. *"Canadienne"* was the name applied even before the fall of New France to the native born residents of New France. You will find a distinction drawn in the Articles of Capitulation of Quebec in 1759 and Montreal in 1760, and the early constitutional documents of this country between the French, meaning those born in France and living in New France at the time, and the Canadiennes who were the native born inhabitants of New France, and of course the name was taken over when, with the Constitutional Act of 1791 two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada were established, to be followed in turn, in 1891, by the Province of Canada.

One often wonders why when Confederation was brought about the name "Canada" was chosen. After all it was the name of only one of the provinces which were seeking to bring about Confederation.

Had the same situation prevailed in the thirteen colonies we might, for instance, have had given to the citizens of what is now the United States, for instance, the title of New Yorkers, if the principal colony at that time had lent the name to the new Confederation.

Now it was an easy enough matter for the residents of Upper and Lower Canada in 1867 to accept the name "CANADA" and the "Dominion of Canada". It wasn't quite so easy for the inhabitants of the Maritime Provinces, and consequently you will find, even today, Maritimers who speak of the rest of this country as Canada. They say "up in Canada", as though there were a difference.

Similarly, it has meant this as an historical nation, that those who first possessed the name "Canadienne" feel that they have some prior title to the name.

May I say a word about those who are our French-speaking compatriots. At the fall of Quebec in 1759 they numbered 60,000. Today, they number 3,000,000. It is one of the miracles of modern days, the expansion of that original body of settlers, then numbering 60,000. There has been from that time to this practically no immigration whatever from France, and consequently those who inhabited the country at that time and spoke the French tongue were linked to the France of pre-Revolution days and they have in one sense been cut off from the land of their ancestors for nearly two centuries. Because of that fact, and because of changes in the form of government of France, and because those who inhabited New France were principally from Normandy, there has not been and is not today the same sense of racial and spiritual ties of lineage between our French-speaking compatriots and France as there is between those of us whose mother tongue is English and the British Isles. For most of them there is no country but Canada.

As a matter of fact, one of the leading French Members of the House of Commons said to me a few days ago, "apart from Canada, I am a man without a country". It sometimes is hard for them to understand and appreciate the feeling which English-speaking Canadians have toward those little Isles in the North Sea, which have meant so much to civilization, to democracy and to the preservation of freedom.

I have had jarring experiences since going to Ottawa as a Member of Parliament first in the Fall of last year. One of the things was this. It was an expression coming from some of my French-Canadian colleagues in private conversation of a fear of absorption. Now, I indicated to them that as far as I was concerned I thought that was an ill-founded fear when one looked at the expansion in numbers from 60,000 to 3,000,000, but somehow or other the fear of absorption continues to exist.

They have been free to develop their own culture, their own customs, their own civil law, their own language, their own religion in perfect freedom. As a matter of fact, they enjoy freedom to practice their religion long before there was similar freedom in the United Kingdom.

Their language has been guaranteed to them from the time of the fall of New France, and their right in respect to their language has been written into all the leading constitutional acts—the Quebec Act of 1774, the Constitutional Act of 1791, and the British North America Act. You will find in section 133 the clear expression of one factor which was a leading factor in bringing about Confederation—the recognition of two official languages for debate in both Houses of Parliament, in all the Federal Courts and in the Legislature of the Province of Quebec.

This is not a bilingual country, but it is a country which in its Parliament and in its Federal Courts has two official languages.

Now, to those, and I don't think they are numerous, who keep on talking about what they think would be the gain to Canada of elimination of the second official language, I have only this to say, that they are whittling at the foundation of Confederation, because apart from that section of the British North America Act there would have been no Confederation, and without it today Confederation would not have survived.

I wish that some people would stop talking about that because that kind of talk creates only mischief, and what is more, it gives rise to fear on the part of our French-speaking compatriots and fear begets suspicion, and suspicion begets distrust, and sometimes distrust begets even worse things.

I said something a moment ago about the fact that our population in this country is so small. Immigration is bound to be a leading issue in our thinking before very many months have passed. Immigration is a matter on which the lines of view in this country has sometimes been drawn on racial grounds. Those who tell me, among our French-speaking compatriots that they fear absorption, say also if they could be persuaded that the purpose back of a large scale immigration policy was not absorption of them as a race, with a distinctive language, then they would not oppose immigration, certainly on a reasonable scale, and it may be that there is a work to be done in breaking down that fear of absorption if we have any hope at all of encouraging immigration to this country on any large scale.

May I say to you that I think that incredible harm has been done, incalculable harm has been done in this country by emphasis on race. There has been altogther too much emphasis on race and a great deal of damage has been done by it. I hope that before long we will be able to eliminate the hyphenation in our description of ourselves as Canadians, whether as English Canadians, or French Canadians, or Scottish Canadians, or Irish Canadians, or Ukranian Canadians or so on. I don't think we are going to develop a fully integrated sense of national purpose or national unity unless we make a determined effort to eliminate that hyphenation. It wasn't on the shoulder badges of our men who fought in this war or the last war. (applauses). That too strong sense of or emphasis on racial origin have, I think, obscured our sense of a common nationality and a common national purpose. We can be just as British, we can be just as proud of our British heritage while at the same time eliminating this hyphenation, as we can going on putting stress on race.

Race has been exploited in this country for political purposes and that, I say, has been a crime against Canada.

There must be a determined effort in this country to concentrate on those things which citizens from coast to coast possess in common.

Now, as a nation, we are not alone in facing a problem of this kind. I was looking over yesterday and the day before some of the statute books of the Union of South

Africa, and it was a reminder to me, with the statute there printed in two languages, that they have a language problem and a race problem, just as we have, and in addition they have a serious colour problem as well.

The work of reconciliation for which I am appealing today must begin at Ottawa. It has got to be based on understanding, far more understanding than has existed hitherto.

At lunch yesterday in Ottawa, with a group of my French-speaking compatriots and colleagues in the House, we were talking about the necessity, and the gain that would accrue to both of us of closer knowledge of conditions in each others part of the country, the stress must be placed on travel and knowledge.

Sir William Watson quoting this verse, applied it to the relations between England and Ireland some years ago:

> Hate and distrust are the children of blindness,
> Could we but see one another t'were well,
> Knowledge is sympathy, charity, kindness,
> Ignorance only is maker of hell.

I think that harm will continue to be done to any sense of national unity and development of a Canadian individuality if we are going to aggressive minorities and aggressive majorities seeking to pit themselves against one another.

There is a factor that we ought to bear in mind, I think, as this nation grows towards maturity. It is the fact that we are rapidly becoming a nation of Canadian born. In 1941 the census showed that of the 11.5 million people of this country, no less than 9.5 million are Canadian born, and of the remainder, 1 million were born in the British Isles and something over 300,000 were born in the United States, and just over 700,000 are classified as foreign born.

The percentage born in Canada in the different parts of Canada is also I think worthy of mention. In the Maritimes, 95 per cent; in Quebec, 93 per cent; in Ontario 81 per cent; in the Prairie Provinces, 71 per cent; and in B. C., 63 per cent. Those, I think, are significant factors because they point to the possibility of our developing a distinctive Canadian nationality in no sense inimical to our proud possession of the British heritage.

A word of opposition, Mr. Chairman, with reference to the world about us. I said earlier that I conceive our partnership in the British Commonwealth to be the first fact in our external relations. We possess complete sovereignty. There is in no sense subordination in our relationship with the Commonwealth. We are the senior Dominion. That places us in a position not only of power, but of great responsibility, because the trend that Canada marks by her development is likely to have a profound effect on our sister dominion, and with three great powers of the world having dropped out of the race of civilization during the recent war, more and more the British Commonwealth is going to have to carry the load of world leadership along with the two other great powers which have emerged from the war, and the senior Dominion in this Commonwealth is going to have to carry a greater share of the load of world leadership.

Our relationship to the world must, since last fall, be interpreted in terms of our part of the United Nations Organization. Canada took a great constitutional step in 1919 when, for the first time she signed in her own right, through her own appointed representative, the Treaty of peace. It marked a great step in the constitutional development of this country under the leadership of the wartime Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden. Canada played a part of leadership of which I think we may properly be proud at San Francisco, in working out the provisions of the United Nations Charter. As a matter of fact much of the draughtmanship of the United Nations Organization Charter comes directly from some of the full time officials in the service of the Canadian Government.

Canada took a leading part especially in the framing of those portions of the charter relating to the Social and Economic Council. The provisions of the Charter are good and sound. There are serious imperfections in it, notably the veto reserved by the leading powers.

There was a great outburst of idealism throughout the world at the time of San Francisco. It had changed rather to a mood of sober realism, hopeful realism last fall. In some part of the world today that, in turn, has given away to despair.

I think we must be realistic in our approach to the world situation, and I think we must realize that this new organization is in its infancy, and it has already been confronted with very critical world problems. If the United Nations Organization, functioning especially through the Security Council Meeting now can survive the first and critical tests, then I think we may well look forward with confidence to the future. If firmness is preserved in dealing with those who are in variance in their conduct with the terms of the Charter, and if the nations speaking through the Security Council take a firm stand, based on principles and don't try to play the game of expediency, then I think we may be hopeful for the future.

The present dispute between Russia and Iran may well prove to be the turning point in the future course of development of the United Nations Organization. Success in connection with that dispute will strengthen greatly the hands of the United Nations Organization for the future. If the Security Council is not cowed by a Russian bullying and blackmail tactics.

I believe it would not be out of place for me to say a word on the subject of the recent espionage investigation in Ottawa, particularly in its relation to certain principles to which the eyes of Canadians must now be opened.

In the first place, we must surely have learned this lesson, that we are in an international position, whether we like it or not, and we must be guided by the light of that knowledge. And new problems will arise. They are arising right now and they will continue to arise in consequence of that position.

There is another thing. Our possessions are envied by others. Let us not forget that in assessing the future.

In the next place, it may be that the spirit of alliance which bound together the powers during the war, as we understood it, is not, or has not been quite what we understood or hoped for, and in the next place, I hope it has opened the eyes of some people to the danger of Communism in our midst, and the fact that Communism recognizes no rules.

There was a hush in the House of Commons when the Prime Minister a fortnight ago read one passage from the second interim report of the Royal Commission. It was that passage in which the Commissioners stated their finding, that certain individuals had admitted a loyalty higher than their loyalty to Canada. Now, it wasn't a loyalty to God. It was a loyalty to an earthly force.

And, if spying is to continue, and I suggest we have got to find some better method of dealing with it, and nipping it at the source, even though it does involve a combing of the Civil Service to eliminate persons who have held places of trust and responsibility who have betrayed their trust. Surely it has opened the eyes of Canadians to this fact, that apathy in relation to the world, apathy in relation to our responsibility as citizens is a dangerous luxury in which we Canadians can not afford to indulge.

It is utterly idle for us to expect democracy to flourish in this country if there is indifference and apathy on the part of the citizenry.

That means not only active interest but active participation on the part of all citizens who value their right as citizens.

I have spoken about certain factors in relation to Canada's position. I wonder if I have yet mentioned the most important, because the far most important factor in the development of a sense of nationhood must ever be the spiritual factor. They will always be the strongest, and they must be the strongest in Canada if we hope for the development of a great nation here.

We are growing up. The fact that we are a young nation need not mean that we must be an immature nation. Though young, we may be mature in our thought and our attitude toward the world, and Canada, it seems to me, is finding her soul. It is a soul born of sacrifice. There has been a great awakening, it seems to me, in the thought of Canadians, and much of it is due to the sacrifice of our best in the war.

Can we hope to develop a great nation here unless we develop great love of Canada and a great pride in Canada. When I say pride in Canada I don't mean simply pride in one part of Canada. I mean pride in Canada as a nation, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. If we can't take pride in the whole of Canada we are going to have a very limited and imperfect love for Canada.

We have a wonderful heritage. We have the opportunity. Is there one of us who would exchange his lot and birthright as a Canadian for the lot and birthright that he would enjoy in any other part of the globe? That heritage is an expanding heritage. The heritage that we enjoy today is of greater value than the heritage our fathers enjoyed. We who have outlived the second Great War enjoy in the light of the sacrifice that our sons and brothers made in that war a greater heritage than those who did not live to see that war, to survive it. Daily this precious possession, this Canadian heritage becomes of greater and more value.

What are we going to do with it? Are we going to take it for granted? Well, Edmond Burke, speaking in the year 1790, in his reflection on the Revolution in France, said this, "people will not look forward to prosperity who never look back to their ancestors".

Ours will be a greater conception of the value of our heritage as we know more about it and value more the steady accumulation of it.

We have the priceless privilege of freedom. Will we cherish it and defend that freedom in peace as we did in war? The answer rests with us as citizens. This nation has great accomplishments to its credit, in fields other than those of government, in fields other than those of warfare for righteous çauses. Think of what this nation has contributed through its leading sons in the field of literature, art, culture, medicine, science, education. We have a great role of great Canadians who have brought incalculable benefit to mankind.

Do we appreciate them? Do we appreciate adequately the fact that we share the pride in their accomplishments because we are Canadians?

Our national greatness will depend upon our service to mankind. It will mean sacrifice. In the light, for instance, of the world's crying need for food today, with famine threatening the lives of millions of people, both in Europe and in India, and other parts of Asia, it will mean sacrifice on the part of Canada if we are to rise to our opportunity of providing food for these countries, of casting our bread upon the international waters.

The opportunity that confronts this country today to give service to mankind is an opportunity unexcelled in the history of any nation. It is an opportunity the like of which may never be offered to any land again. Selfishness can defeat our response to that opportunity. It is a fact, but it is a sad fact, that the selfishness of the average individual is always a factor in the calculations of politicians. You never get away from it.

Now, if Canada, with this great and unexcelled opportunity offered to her is to rise to it, it will only be because enough people in this country, in the light of the world's need, in the light of the opportunity offered to our Canada, will put aside selfish personal interests, and sometimes selfish national interests.

Mr. Chairman, there is a work to be done. There is a work of spreading knowledge, there is a work of spreading pride in Canada, there is a work of spreading love of Canada. Disraeli, in 1886 said, "Ignorance never settles a question". It will be so in Canada. Perfect love casteth out fear. That, I suggest, will be the panacea to meet the problems, these great pressing national problems that confront this Canada today.

When we can love our country, this senior partner in the British Commonwealth with a great love, and put her interest and put her response to the world's need, and her meeting of the great opportunity given to her first. then the heritage of those who come after us as Canadian citizens will be greater than that which we as their fathers enjoy.

The same Sir William Watson to whom I referred earlier said this once, "the sense of greatness keeps a nation great". We are entitled to a sense of greatness. We ought to develop a sense of greatness, a great pride in Canada.

I suggest at the outset, Mr. Chairman, that we in Canada need a sense of national mission. We need a sense of a call from Destiny. We need a sense of knowledge that Destiny has cast a gauge or challenge to us. Can we see for Canada the vision of a beneficent mission for the service of mankind? If we can, then let us as Canadians march shoulder to shoulder to attain that goal. I, for one, believe that with courage, goodwill and infinite patience we shall realize that dream.

"FREE MEN OR AUTOMATS"

An Address By

MR. JEAN CHARLES HARVEY

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, April 11, 1946

Mr. Thompson: The Empire Club of Canada today has the privilege of welcoming to its platform, one who has favoured us on several previous occasions and one whose speeches, each time, have left a lasting impression with our members.

Our guest of honour, who was born at Murray Bay, Quebec, is of Scottish ancestry. His forbears came to this country in 1760 and have since all married into families of French descent. He is a staunch Canadian, with a true sense of loyalty to the British Crown.

Educated by the Jesuit Order in Montreal, he selected journalism as his occupation, commencing his career as a reporter, serving on two of Montreal's French language newspapers, La Patrie and La Presse. Later, he held the post of Chief Editor of one of Quebec's leading papers, Le Soleil and, in 1937, founded his own weekly, Le Jour, which is published in Montreal.

A leading proponent of inter-provincial good will, our guest speaker, through the medium of his paper, is perhaps doing more in the interests of Canadian unity than any other man in this country.

Gentlemen, it is with pleasure that I now present to you, Jean Charles Harvey, who has selected as the title of his address "Free Men or Automats".

Mr. Jean Charles Harvey: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: Some years ago, when I started out on a crusade in favor of Canadian unity, I came here in fact to outline to you the dangers of excessive nationalism. We were on the eve of that great cataclysm which, from 1939 to 1945, has thrown the world into an undescribable chaos. Of those who were seated around this table, there are some who have come back today whereas there are others who have passed forth from the sight of man. The majority of us were then convinced that war would break out sooner or later and we were right in supposing that one of the determining causes of the catastrophe was precisely that spirit of nationalism which I was at that time denouncing. We were for ever reading in the newspapers or hearing over the air the declarations and speeches of the Fascist leaders who invariably relied upon racial pride to inspire in the hearts of youth the hatred of foreign powers and the taste for battle which would ensure the triumph of the so-called superior race.

In September 1939, and thereafter throughout the years that followed until the victory of our arms, we believed that one result of the sacrifices undertaken for the cause would be the destruction of that parish-pump mentality, that xenophobia which caused the spilling of so much blood and so many tears. We dreamed of the day when, once the Nazi-Fascist States were conquered, a world power would be established, one which would be free from all racial prejudice and capable, through a system of democratic education and by the agency of a world police-force, to suppress for ever, among all the nations, the spirit of aggression, of conquests and of domination. That is why, at the end of last summer, millions of men and women from every race and of every color had their eyes turned towards San Francisco where the foundations of that new society on which the future of the world depended, were to be laid. The UNO was founded. Everybody devoted to peace, freedom and unity applauded that generous initiative.

Since then, we have been following with the most lively interest the doings and discussions of this world society. We place our confidence in it because, indeed, we do not see anywhere else in this troubled world another organization on which we can rely to remedy the accumulated disasters and to bring about the material and moral reconstruction of human societies.

Unfortunately, several times during the last five or six months we have had to doubt the goodwill of certain men invested with an important responsibility in the very heart of the United Nations Organization. Nationalism is not dead. Too often it supersedes the interest of mankind. It manifests an appetite for conquests and for domination of every kind which makes one fear that the germs of new conflicts are being nourished in the very sanctum of the temple of peace.

But nationalism forms only one element of disturbance in the present state of affairs. It is perhaps not our worst enemy, for there is room to suppose that the nation, emerging from the worst evil of all history, will hesitate for a long time yet to take those decisive steps which make war inevitable. We may indeed wonder how Heads of States, well aware that we have entered in the atomic era and that well-nigh total destruction of the civilized world can be accomplished in a few days, can decide on such an appalling and useless crime. Because of this, we may well believe that armed warfare has through its very horror ensured its own end. For the moment, there are other conflicts looming into our view.

The most dangerous struggle which is going on at the present time in nearly all countries throughout the world is the fight between the freedom of the individual and the domination of the State. The two opposing forces are not classified exactly according to the geographical accidents of frontiers or according to different racial origins. They are differentiated by two principal ideologies one of which claims that the future of society and civilization depends on the unfettered effort of every man to make his own living and the other of which contends that the State and social community are alone capable of establishing justice, security and equality in the world. This last-named ideology may have different labels, it may be more or less complete and absolute according to the countries and the circumstances, but always and everywhere it trespasses on the liberty of the individual and in certain countries, it reduces the latter to a state of servitude as deplorable as the slavery of ancient times. Nationalism has this evil in that it opposes nation against nation and group against group, always following the nationalistic idea, but the ideological conflict is still more serious and profound in that it opposes with violence ideological groups inside the very bosom of each nation, and thus nourishes all the germs of instability, of fear, of systematic sabotage, of high treason and civil war. More serious still, it makes us dread the day when all those men who are out to defend the very principle of human liberty will be regarded as criminals.

First of all, our so-called reformers want the State to rule the whole of our economic life. Absolute rule of the State in economic affairs is only possible under a sort of dictatorship—a dictatorship more or less vague, more or less severe, more or less general, but still dictatorship. From dictatorship to totalitarianism is but a step. I do not think that it is possible to stop after entering on the slippery slope of the theory of omnipotence.

Dreamers, moderate men, the honest people who say today that we can go just so far and never further, show an equal ignorance of human nature and the logical necessities of an economic system.

In my opinion it is impossible that anyone would dominate the whole field of material activity, without at the same time dominating all political parties—that is, without abolishing political parties, and without stiffing the expression of any opinions which might embarrass the authorities in their acts.

Do not imagine for a moment that fascism or naziism or communism is something spontaneously generated, or the work of some organizing genius. They are nothing but the logical consequences of a process of domination and control, the realization of which is impossible without a total regimentation of all thought and ideas, of all reason and of the written and the spoken word.

The enemies of every form of economic liberalism boast that they abhor fascism.

They are constantly talking of "economic dictatorship" when they refer to private enterprise. They do not see that their own plans lead straight to the worst of economic dictatorship, since it would be that of the State, which must extend until it controls their spirits and their souls. At that point we should have sacrificed in vain the millions of young men who have gone out thinking that they are fighting for democratic liberty.

The individual has no right to do anything that is contrary to the interests of society, and laws have to be made and applied for this purpose, but it is equally necessary for the individual to defend himself ceaselessly against the danger of excessive power, exercised by other individuals or groups which are too enterprising, or by the government. This defence has to be incessant, unsleeping, unwavering, for without it slavery is certain. It is a law of nature that every good thing which is not defended is doomed to be the prey of some cruel greed. What has the individual to defend? His liberty of thought, so that he can go to the end which his intelligence shows him, without stopping at any barriers set up by pontificial and intolerant dogmatists; his liberty of reason, so that he can follow the linked ideas of logic to their highest development, and with the utmost courage and intellect, without concerning himself with the gloomy counsellors who advise him to place no faith in the feeble light of reason; the liberty to proclaim in speech or writing, within the boundaries of the common interest, the truths which he believes that he has discovered and the beauties which he feels he can conceive; the liberties of art, of science, of philosophy, of faith and conscience . . . even moral liberty—yes indeed. The full liberty of human conduct—within the solitary limit of the common interest. I attach just as much importance to this liberty as the authoritarians and believers in absolute rule give to the moral principles which they seek to transform into laws, defining, by amendment and sanction, what they choose to label virtue or sin. After all, sin can scarcely be a matter of legislation.

There are the privileges which the individual must now and ever defend against the excess of power, and against the most abusive interpretations of order and discipline. These liberties are, I know, admitted, desired and practised by some intellectuals of good faith, who, with a curious lack of logic, have become apostles of a system which would dominate all moral life; a system to which they have to give their entire allegiance and which they are trying their energy, as frankly as possible, to establish. That is, for these men, it is a matter of liberty for themselves, and in the things which they possess and love, but slavery in the matter of those things which they do not possess—but might love if they owned them. This is illogical and unfair.

Action of a purely material sort is as human and natural as action in the spiritual field. It is as legitimate and indispensable, even if not as lofty. I know something of the great resources of intelligence, of courage, of endurance and determination which the great conquerors of material affairs have needed for their success.

These men have been trained to struggle with the circumstances which surround them, to organize, to group, to command, to combine, to dare! We owe to them, and always shall owe to them, some of the most useful creations of human ingenuity. Even from the first they have left their marks on the world—which the centuries have not erased. It took great artists to conceive the Acropolis. It took real conquerors of matter to realize in marble and stone the creations of the artist's thought.

The day when we shall have brought under complete control, sufficiently diminished and muzzled the energies of these creators, of these men, with their great need for a reasonable field of economic liberty, we shall not only have committed an injustice, but we shall have spoiled the quality and the temper of a type of human activity as necessary as the activity of thought, of pure reason and science, and we shall have done that, believe me, without profiting the thinkers, the scientists and the artists, for it will not be long before they are all caged. When the body lies in chains and hungers, the soul languishes in weakness.

It was against this totalitarianism that all liberal democracies were fighting from 1939 until late 1945. Millions of men have perished for this cause and the richest countries have been practically ruined. We have succeeded in subduing, at least for all practical purposes, two anti-democratic forces: the Fascism of Mussolini and the Nazism of Hitler. Unhappily, the totalitarian idea is not dead. Personally, I have no more admiration for marxist collectivism than for German Nazism. For all those who desire to conserve and improve the democratic ideal for which men have, through the centuries, made so many revolutions, it is a duty to resist with all their energy this new danger. It would be a grave mistake for us to sleep in a false security. It is enough to have one's eyes open to know without any doubt that an occult power, traversing the whole world, is out to corrupt our civilization from within, in such a fashion as to re-establish, by means of deceptive promises, and by all the weapons of demagogy and falsehood, the age-old tyrannies of antiquity. The war of nerves which is being carried on everywhere during the last few months and which is demoralizing our Western societies is proof enough to us of the existence of a vast conspiracy to enslave individuals under the yoke of ambitious and unscrupulous leaders. The propagandists of the new movement deny and combat all the moral concepts which are at the basis of our civilization: they claim, for example, that loyalty to the mother-country does not exist if such country does not accept their political and social ideas, and that this creates a loyalty to a foreign power; they assert that any man who succeeds in creating an enterprise by his own work and his personal initiative is only a usurper in the eyes of the State; they claim that there exists a collective freedom in the face of which must be suppressed all individual liberty; they regard the given word and the oath as nothing and without value, believing that they must with impunity violate such pledges in favor of their political credo.

The events which have recently taken place in this country and the echoes of which have had repercussions everywhere in the world reveal the force and the fanaticism which inspire the apostles of this contemporaneous movement. We have lived during the centuries with a spiritual religion, and there can be no doubt that it is to this we owe our beliefs that tolerance, charity, pity, pardon for wrong-doing and the respect of the human person are virtues without which the very idea of civilization does not exist. The so-called reformers and world saviors are out to impose upon us by force, at the price of blood if need be, a wholly materialistic religion which in no way pays regard to moral and psychological factors and which has been presented to us as a society modelled on the colonies of ants and hives of bees. The faith which inspires the so-called Marxists is, in my view, more intransigent, more cruel and dominating, but assuredly better armed than the ancient credos of those epochs when religious wars devastated mankind. The experience of propaganda has been widened by all the agencies of world communication, for scientific inventions have brought all nations to the point of being neighbors to one another, even countries situated in the antipodes.

Some of you perhaps are aware of a little book which pre-war naziism had distributed widely in its struggle against Semitism. Its title was: "The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion". This book had been falsely attributed to a Council of Jews and several were naive enough to believe it. In reality, it was only a kind of fiction in which it was predicted that an anti-Christ would exist who would busy himself in deranging all men's minds and consciences and thereby arrive at the domination of the world. That book was first distributed in Russia and it was later brought and published in Germany.

The anti-Christ, who was no other than the demon, spoke thus:

"We shall talk with the people on the streets and squares," says the demon, "and teach them to take the view of political questions which at the moment we require. For what the rules says to the people spreads through the whole country like wildfire, the voice of the people carries it to all four winds.

"We"—the demon always says "We"—"shall create unrest, struggle, and hate in the whole of Europe and thence in other continents. We shall at all times be in a position to call forth new disturbances at will, or to restore the old order.

"Unremittingly, we shall poison the relations between the peoples and states of all countries. By envy and hatred, by struggle and warfare, even by spreading hunger, destitution, and plagues, we shall bring all peoples to such a pass that their only escape will be in total submission to our domination.

"We shall stultify, seduce, ruin the youth.

"We shall not stick at bribery, treachery, treason, as long as they serve the realization of our plans. Our watchword is: force and hypocrisy!

"In our arsenal we carry a boundless ambition, burning avidity, a ruthless thirst for revenge, relentless hatred. From us emanates the specter of fear, all-embracing terror".

A gabbling demon, and self-conceited, too:

"We are the chosen, we are the true men. Our minds give off the true power of the spirit; the intelligence of the rest is instinctive and animal. They can see, but they cannot foresee; their inventions are purely corporal. Does it not follow clearly that Nature herself has predestined us to dominate the whole world?

"We shall not submit the unique greatness of our ultimate plan, the context of its particular parts, the consequences of each separate point, the secret meaning of which remains hidden, to the judgment and decision of the many, even, of those who share out thoughts; we shall not cast the gleaming thoughts of our leader before the swine, and even in more intimate circles we shall not permit them to be carped at.

"We shall paint the misdeeds of foreign governments in the most garish colors and create such an ill-feeling toward them that the peoples would a thousand times rather bear a slavery which guarantees them peace and order than enjoy their much-touted freedom. The peoples will tolerate any servitude we may impose on them, if only to avoid a return to the horrors of wars and insurrection. Our principles and methods will take on their full force when we present them in sharp contrast to the putrid old social order.

"Outwardly, however, in our "official" utterances, we shall adopt an opposite procedure and always do our best to appear honorable and co-operative. A Statesman's words do not have to agree with his acts. If we pursue these principles, the governments and peoples which we have thus prepared will take our IOU's for cash. One day they will accept us as the benefactors and saviors of the human race.

"If any state dares to resist us; if its neighbors make common cause with it against us, we shall unleash a world war".

And then the demon spreads his wings, conceals the sky, darkens the world:

"By all these methods we shall so wear down the nations that they will be forced to offer us world domination. We shall stretch out our arms like pincers in all directions, and introduce an order of such violence that all peoples will bow to our domination".

Such is the plan one day outlined by a writer who thought he was making fiction but who in reality was a prophet, since he described in such striking fashion the methods used by modern tyranny to disorganize and drive to madness human societies. It is evident that the principal weapons utilized in this ideological war are propaganda and falsehood. These are not new weapons. Many times in the past they have been used to dominate and enslave the nations, but as geographical accidents and the lack of easy communications rendered such propaganda very slow, the evil was always confined to a small portion of the world. It was therefore only a local plague. Today the transport of ideas and acts is accomplished instantaneously. Anything occurring at midday in Ottawa will be reported in Toronto, Paris, Moscow before half past twelve. An idea germinated in a brain at one hour will be, five minutes later, transported to all the capitals. A great scientific invention revealed at 2 o'clock will be known at 2.15 in the Kremlin. In this way, there exists a continuous conversation between persons separated by a distance of five to six thousand miles and more. It is this fact which propaganda agents make much play of if they do not run up against a strong resistance, and they will profit from this unprecedented advantage which science offers them, they will combat our dearest principles even before we have had time to notice what they are doing. Hence arises the unheard of strength of lies in our modern times. Never have tyrants in the past been able to manipulate as much as is done today the value of lies as an instrument of domination and corruption, I would even say, of universal madness.

It is a painful thing to note that the marvellous inventions that we owe most particularly to the activity and genius of the democratic nations have been employed much more extensively by the forces of evil than they have by the forces of good. We have not known how to make use of them to defend in timely manner the Western civilization which rests on democratic practice, on individual liberty and on the respect for the thought, the rights and the conscience of everybody.

Our system offers so much superiority over the others that it would, it seems to us, be easy enough to demontrate this fact. We have certainly lacked dynamism and conviction in not having been able to create among ourselves the enthusiasm for having won liberty.

Our weakness came from being generally satisfied with our life; from our innate belief in the superiority of free men; from being simply and stupidly honest; from not wanting war against any man, and from believing in the possibility of peace by disarmament. In a word, our weakness came from our unwillingness to murder our neighbours. That itself was a form of strength, as events have shown. Without any preparation we commenced the war against aggressors who for years had been mobilizing all their resources in men, labour, material, science and propaganda, to surprise us and crush us. For the first two years of war we were amateurs against professionals. Yet, we—the democrats—sapped by the cancer of economic liberalism—as they say among our enemies—have done what neither the Germans, the Japanese, nor any other totalitarians, with legions of slaves, could do. We have been able to accomplish two colossal tasks at the same moment: the actual war of splendid and stubborn resistance for three terrible years, and, at the same time, preparation for a war of offensive in due time.

Never has the superiority of individual initiative been so clearly shown. It will be said that the governments of the democracies at war clamped individual enterprise into a vice, that socialist methods were put into effect, as an emergency measure, that state restrictions without number have been necessary for the accomplishment of our colossal task. Admitted. On the other hand, the men who accomplished this miracle were men trained in private enterprise; men accustomed to use individual initiative and imagination. These are the men who have smashed the God State in its own field.

The principal inventions for use in war, since 1939, have been due, to a large extent, to the laboratories maintained by private enterprise. It is exactly for this reason that the free peoples have been able to establish their superiority in this struggle over the dictatorial States.

Yet more, in these last fifty or sixty years, the mother democracies of France, the United States and the British Commonwealth were the nations which contributed most in volume and in riches to human progress, the wealth, comfort, intellectual advancement, science, art and material production of all nations. The comparison is entirely in their favour. Anyone who know the A B C of History will admit that. I can go further. It is to those democracies that the Germans, the Japanese and other savages, came to learn the very techniques of their material strength and also to certain models of most of their machines and their arms—even the methods of manufacturing them. Organization in particular has dominated the world since 1920.

Now come the lean and hungry economists who tell us, in their pamphlets and speeches, that we must cast aside our system of free and individual enterprise, for some sort of antiquated plan of society. We believe that democratic methods—purified, perfected, carried further towards liberty and justice, to law and the ideal of duty freely done—can and will give us the answer to all our problems, at the moment when one of the great dramas of human history has just ended.

Hitherto, the field has been left empty for all the demagogues to cry from all the housetops that capitalism alone was the cause of all the evils and the origin of all the wars. We have not known how to demonstrate the absurdity of this fundamental error. As for myself, I am well aware that our so-called capitalist democracies have shown themselves guilty of plenty of errors, sometimes of anti-social crimes, but if I make the comparison with other systems which are offered to us by the voice of propagandists and even by that of spies, I have no hesitation in saying that our democratic and capitalist régimes at their worst are still better, and much more so, than those of totalitarian States. Only, we must at all cost know how to put our own house in order so as to render it less vulnerable to the attacks of the outsider. More than ever, our political parties must be based on moral values to work hard to consolidate and aggrandize the winning of liberty; more than ever our various religions must respect the freedom of thought and conscience, for every sectarian mentality on their part would rapidly be turned towards persecution and would admit the germs of totalitarianism; more than ever the directors of our commercial and industrial life should take account of human dignity and of the sacred rights of labor; more than ever our educational institutions and universities should place at the foundation of their teaching the civic spirit, the devotion to public affairs, the cult of liberty and democratic institutions.

I still believe that, now that we have won the war and driven back the forces of slavery represented by two totalitarian states, we shall be able—in America at least—to retain the better part of those essential liberties without which neither Americans nor Canadians would find any interest in life. I deny that liberalism has been defeated—as the pessimists and the fascits say—liberty to think, to believe, to act, to be together to work in common, is not dead. These liberties are inseparable from material progress—which is not always as material as one might imagine. The great advantage of democratic intitutions is the great flexibility and quick response of the organism, which casts out all infections, and which constantly seeks to perfect, reform, cure itself of all weaknesses.

The democracies are, in their very essence, organisms of evolution. The remedial measures, which are created in them, for the improvement of the lot of their subjects, are ever increasing in number and in speed.

It is in this way that we shall find by instinct, by the mysterious operations of necessity itself, the methods of reconciling security and liberty. Democracy has a horror of rigid formulae, which would lock every man into a pillory, and that is a very good thing for the happiness of humanity. Democracy is neither capitalism nor corporatism, nor fascism, nor communism. Democracy alone proclaims the right of each to a share of happiness in this world and alone can accomplish the task of seeing that each obtains it.

The whole story can be summed up in two words: reason and love. There will be no future in society, no progress, not even the maintenance of our present good estate, without a free exercise of individual reason; there will be no security for the weak without the great love which comes from Christian morality. Everything else is but vanity.

"EXERCISE MUSKOX"

AN ADDRESS BY

COLONEL J. T. WILSON

Thursday, April 18, 1946

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

MR. THOMPSON: Gentlemen—Prior to World War Two, we gave little thought to the defense of Canada; with our friendly neighbours to the South and bounded on the other three sides by wide expanses of ocean, we felt safe from attack but, with the advancement in Air Warfare, as exhibited in the recent world struggle and, the far reaching possibilities of atomic power, I am sure we all now realize that this country must give greater consideration to protective measures.

Canada, containing as it does, the Western Democracies chief source of Uranium, one of the principle components of atomic energy, might readily be one of the first countries attacked; should another World War come about. With these Uranium deposits located within 100 miles of the Arctic Ocean and our vast Arctic Area unprotected, our country has wisely seen the immediate necessity of determining what can be accomplished in a military way in our extensive Arctic Zone.

The Arctic fact finding expedition, known as "Operation Muskox" also "Operations Lemming" and "Polar Bear", were largely organized by our guest speaker, who is a graduate of the University of Toronto and a post-graduate of Princeton and Cambridge Universities. Among his scholasitc trophies are the Governor General's Medal, Prince of Wales Prize, Coleman Gold Medal and Massey Fellowship. He holds the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy.

During the war he served as Technical Liason Officer with the Canadian Army overseas and, subsequently as Director of Operational Research, Ottawa; a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society; Vice Chairman, Board of Governors of the Arctic Institute of North America; Chairman, Associate Committee on Geophysics, National Research Council. He is head of the recently organized Institute of Geophysics, University of Toronto.

Gentlemen, it is with extreme pleasure that I introduce to you, Colonel J. T. Wilson, who has just returned from the Arctic Expedition and who will address us on the subject "Exercise Muskox".

Colonel J. T. Wilson: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen and invisible Ladies—if any be listening on the radio: This winter was the first time that anyone could plan ahead of time to fly up to the Arctic to arrange to meet a group of vehicles, snowmobiles, travel with them for some days in comparative comfort, and again on a fairly definite time-table be picked up by plane and flown back to Southern Canada.

As one of the few people who were fortunate enough to have this experience it is a great pleasure to come here today and to tell you something about it.

It is less than a month since I was last in Toronto, and since that time I have flown to Edmonton, Norman Wells, to Radium on Great Bear Lake, and up to Copper Mine on the Arctic Ocean, flown out over the Arctic Ocean, joined the snowmobiles there, travelled back to Great Bear Lake and flown back the way I came in, and spent a week in Ottawa, and the month is still not up.

It is a great pleasure to come here and I wish to thank you very much, and to thank the Chairman for his very kind remarks.

This Exercise Muskox has had so wide a publicity that it is surprising that many people still regard it as a secret exercise, and your Chairman, in writing to me, hoped I would be able to say something about it. He, like many others, felt that there was a great deal of security and secrecy about this Exercise. Those of us who were at Churchill at the time it was beginning will remember, that for every two members of the moving force, there was at least one newspaper man, newsreel man, radio man or photographer, or something of the sort, all living with us, eating with us, travelling with, very freely, and if there was much secrecy left about the Exercise it was their fault, not ours. It was not possible to take them with us the full way but you have had releases from time to time on how the expedition has been making out.

The security was such that we had surprising accounts of our doings. One evening, in a moment of relaxation—and I would remind you the majority of these men had been some long time in the north, since November—we had a meeting of the Muskox Parasitical and Philosophical Society. At that meeting one of the meteorologists gave a very learned dissertation on the life history of the ice worm. At the conclusion we had a board of experts who passed on this scientific paper and presented him with a Ph.W.

To our surprise a few days later we got a Chicago paper and there on the front page, with a two column head, was an account of the life history of this meeting, and how we had heard about the life history of the ice worm. I have been wondering ever since whether the people of Chicago really believe there are these large worms, about ten feet long, wandering around the ice of Hudson's Bay, with 23 segments and three purple horns.

Another aspect that has been stressed on this Exercise is the international aspect, and the large strategic tactical implications, but it seems a pity to me that that side has been stressed, because obviously this Exercise which is taking place in the heart of Canada has much more meaning to Canada and the development of Canada than it does to any international affairs.

The route of the Exercise, as you see on this map or as you can visualize in your homes, lies along three sides of a square, starting on the west side of Hudson's Bay at Churchill, the route lies for a thousand miles north to the nearest of the Arctic Islands, and then for a thousand miles approximately southwest, through Great Bear Lake to the Mackenzie River at Norman, and then again for approximately a thousand miles south to Edmonton. That is the route of the Exercise and it lies right in the heart of Canada, not at the extreme northern limit of Canada, not at the extreme southern limit either, but right in the middle of it.

In describing this Exercise, I would like to deal with three aspects of the Arctic or the winter Exercises. I would like to say something about how the Exercise came about and what actually occurred or is occurring now on the Exercise, and what implications there are for the future.

This Exercise came about from the war, of course, when things were dealt with in secrecy and that is why this Exercise is still regarded as such a secret one. Really, the origin goes back to almost the beginning of the war. I am sorry that General Potts who was to be here was held up by vehicle trouble, apparently and has not yet got here, but you will remember that early in the war he was Commander of a Canadian Expedition to Spitzbergen, a small island lying far north of Europe, at latitude 70 to 80, very near the North Pole, and for various reasons he was detached with a small Expedition to occupy that island. He went in summer time and because the matter was so diplomatically handled no fighting occurred, but I am sure he would have agreed if he were here, had the Expedition been a prolonged one and lasted into the winter he would have wished for some of the modern developments in Arctic equipment. At that time no over-snow vehicles of a very practical nature existed and clothing and food were not so good then as they are now for the Arctic, and signal sets were not made so efficient as they are now by winterizing and Arcticizing them. But that winter expedition and a trip to Alaska and the Aleutians, though as well equipped as possible at the time, had led to people realizing that a good deal of war was going on in the north and better equipment was needed.

They also planned at one time to invade Norway and they foresaw the need to fight in the Alps and the Appenines. They remembered the conditions they had encountered last winter and for all these reasons the Services were keen to develop better Arctic equipment of various types. The Americans, recognizing the advantage of having such a cold climate looked particularly to Canada to develop this equipment, so great efforts were made during the war along these lines. As equipment began to become available in the latter stages of the war, and as the plans for invading colder parts of Europe began to mature, it was obvious that Exercise of troops would be used to try out that equipment, and the first large one held in Canada was three winters ago in Jasper, in the Canadian Rockies, where a battalion of British Lovett Scouts was sent out, a very specialized and highly picked battalion of mountaineers were sent out to train at Jasper during the winter, and to climb mountains in the worst season of the year. Although there were no such mounted battalions in the Canadian army at that time the Canadian Army was able from its winter experience to provide a good many officers and instructors to participate in that training.

We were stimulated too by the fact that two winters ago the Canadian Army had held quite considerable winter exercises in secret in Canada. These Exercises, which your Chairman has referred to, and you have now heard about were Exercises Eskimo, Polar Bear and Lemming.

Exercise Eskimo was designed to test out equipment and men in the coldest accessible parts of Canada, north from Prince Albert and the northern part of the prairies, and two winters ago about a couple of thousands of men were distributed along the country and marched several hundred miles and rode in vehicles several hundred miles up to Lake La Loche and back again, and incidentally building as they went about 65 miles of road and testing out all kinds of equipment. That was designed to take place in the coldest part of the winter, and also in the spring and the breakup which is another problem there was another Exercise. About a thousand men was planned in the springtime to go through the Coast Range Mountains. We realized that on one side of the Coastal

Range they would encounter severe cold, and on the other side they would have British Columbia's coast conditions, and rain, and in meantime find themselves in very heavy snow, and it was felt that the combination of these things with the spring thaw would provide quite a severe test for men and vehicles, which it did, but the men were able to travel about 600 miles and come back approximately on time.

These Exercises, if you think of the map occurred down in the southern part of Canada. Polar Bear and Eskimo were north of Prince Albert. It was recognized that north of the tree part lay the tremendous Arctic with no trees on it, and it would be well to look into that, so a very small Exercise was held north from Churchill for 600 miles last spring, and it was discovered that the Canadian armoured snowmobile, developed in this country but which did not exist during the war, was a very efficient vehicle and could be counted on to travel sixty miles a day cross country over the barrens.

So immediately thought was given to staging another Exercise in the true Arctic this winter and those thoughts were already materialized or fixed before the war ended. There was a considerable hiatus, due to events of last summer, of course.

This Autumn the matter was again revived and it was decided it would be worth while to put on an Exercise in the true Arctic to give a final test to the development of this equipment which had been developed chiefly in Canada during the war. The equipment was already available.

The authority to hold the Exercise Muskox was not finally given until the autumn. There was no time to build snowmobiles, large quantities of clothing or package special foods, so what was available, what was left over from the war was taken and a great deal of that would not have been very satisfactory if it had been turned over to civilian agencies. So we took what was available and planned an Exercise in winter to traverse the Canadian Arctic.

This Exercise Muskox has really been divided into four sections, four groups of men. The most important group is that commanded by Lt.-Col. Pat Baird, of the Royal Canadian Artillery, who was in the Arctic when the war broke out and like all the leaders of the Expedition he knows the Arctic fairly well and can speak some Eskimo so he new frankly what he was up against. His was the moving party to travel about 3000 miles in snowmobiles. It was decided he should take along a minimum number of officers necessary to run a unit—a Medical Officer, a Signal Officer, a Commander Quartermaster, and so on. Those things are necessary in any unit. Also a few scientists and technical officers, a few to specialize on vehicles, one to look into clothing research, one on radar, a couple of physicists and meteorologists, and the minimum number of scientists to cover those things expected to be found in Northern Canada.

In that way they arrived at a group of about twenty officers, including a very few observers from Great Britain and the United States. Then, in order to get the vehicles round when needed, they had to have some drivers for the vehicles, some signal men and a couple of other technical N. C. O.'s. So one way and another it came to a minimum party, to really cover what they wanted to cover in Northern Canada, of about forty or fifty men, and which would require ten or twelve snowmobiles.

Those vehicles it was intended should go a distance of 3,000 miles, starting from Churchill in the coldest part of the winter, and travel along north a thousand miles and southwest a thousand miles, and half way along the whole 3,000 miles the Expedition would cross from the true Arctic into the treed belt near Great Bear Lake, and come back via Norman, a thousand miles south to Edmonton, through the trees or trailed rivers, back to Edmonton, and they would come back to Edmonton at this time of year, in the springtime through the breakup

So the Expedition had to face two problems. It had to face the Arctic in February, the coldest month, and in the beginning of May they had to come back through the breakup which is quite a different type of problem.

In order to support the forty or fifty men bases were necessary and a larger group of men was found necessary to man the bases. The main bases were Churchill, on Hudson's Bay, Edmonton, and north of Edmonton, Yellowknife on Great Slave Lake, and Norman on Great Bear Lake. On those bases personnel were put in where a variety of supplies would be necessary, and to transport the supplies from the bases to the men who might be as much as 700 miles distant and transport to the barrens where the planes rarely operate in winter, and where there are no airports, it was necessary to have a group of the Royal Canadian Air Force, and they formed a supply unit which has operated extraordinarily efficiently, and I would like to pay tribute to the wonderful cooperation we had and the great confidence all army personnel had that as soon as they radioed for anything, whether a spare engine or an extra case of food, or a parka that somebody had lost, or some special surgical instrument, whether large or small, they were quite confident that within a short space of time, usually within 24 hours, the Air Force would deliver it, usually by parachute.

Then the Air Force, realizing the barrens was a difficult part of the country to operate in and the planes quite largely avoided it before the war, and the distances were very great and as they were using mainly wheeled aircraft they had to drop their supplies, and fly seven hundred miles in and back and the 1,400 miles was quite a long flight. They suggested, though it was not absolutely necessary that they would welcome having some bases. So Colonel Rowley, who had also been in the Northwest Territories and could speak Eskimo and knew the north country, was selected to take an advance detachment from Churchill north to Baker Lake in the heart of the barrens early in the season, and he established an air base, a signal station and a meteorological station there which was done successfully.

Those four parts of the main moving force, the bases, the R. C. A. F. detachment, and the Rowley detachment were the four parts of the Expedition Muskox.

Rowley's trip, quite an interesting one, started the end of January and they travelled 500 miles north with tractor or snowmobiles in 20 or 25 days. The weather was extremely severe. In two weeks the thermometers did not rise about 38 below. It is no colder, I think, even at 52 below. The temperature stayed steady in the 40s, but that was not the only part of their troubles because during most of the time they had violent gales of wind, and those of you who think 40 below is cold, then 40 below with a violent gale blowing is a great deal colder.

A lot of the difficulty was that they had just two snowmobiles on one occasion and they had to lay up in a blizzard. When they dug out of the blizzard they couldn't get either snowmobile to go. It took two days work before they could get the first to start and you will realize that working at 40 or 50 below, and trying to get vehicles to start for two whole days is hard work. They arrived eventually at Baker Lake, consisting of four houses in which six people lived, or seven, including a wife and child of one of the white men, and a few Eskimos, a tiny isolated spot, 200 miles from their nearest white neighbours. It is a center at which the Eskimos come to trade and attend the mission. We were very hospitably received there and within 24 hours they were able to build an air base on which many aircraft later landed.

The following up behind Rowley a band set out from Churchill in the middle of February, on the 10th or 15th, and followed Rowley's tracks to Baker Lake and from Baker Lake pushed on across virtually unknown country. Some of it had never been seen by white man—and across the Black River to the Arctic Ocean. In the stretch from near Baker Lake to the Arctic Ocean, the only mapped feature in the 300 mile stretch is Black River. That was mapped in 1933. No corrections had been made since the original survey by Captain Black of the Royal Navy, and two stretches went across for more than a hundred miles in which the map was a complete and total blank, so they learned quite a bit about Northern Canada, operating the column of ten or twelve vehicles. They started with twelve vehicles but one of a different type was left behind very early. At Baker Lake they dropped a snowmobile in order to ease the supply situation and proceeded with ten vehicles from Baker Lake. They are still travelling with the same ten.

On striking the Arctic Ocean—I will again give an indication of how bad the maps are—they came down a river and expected to find a Hudson's Bay Post in the estuary of the river, but eventually they found it ten miles out at sea on a small island.

At Parry River, we ran into, as we had occasionally before, a group of Eskimoes, who are most friendly and intelligent people. I thought they were very fine people, what I saw of them. They met a group of these and one of the children was pretty sick. He had a ruptured appendix, peritonitis, pneumonia and a heart condition. There was no doctor, no white man within several hundred miles. The doctor was able to call for more emergency equipment which was delivered by plane and he was able to perform an operation on the child in the igloo, and to have the child sewn up, patched up and flown out to Aklavik.

They carried on from there to Victoria Island, crossing a couple of hundred miles of the Arctic Ocean to do so. They crossed one corner of Victoria Island to Denmark Bay which had only been visited by white men twice—once by Amundsen, and once by Larsen, a Police Inspector through the Northwest Passage.

Then they returned to Cambridge Bay and travelled another 300 miles down to Copper Mine. On my last trip, within the last month, I joined the party at Copper Mine. I arrived by plane in the afternoon. It was a lovely afternoon out on the barrens beyond the trees. It was a beautiful spot with lovely cliffs rising out of the sea. We were very hospitably received and we arranged with the five white homes, in which about six or eight white people lived, that they would put up the forty members of the party. The people always expect when there are four or five homes to put up forty or fifty people over night. We arranged for that and then waited and during the evening we saw the lights coming across the Arctic Ocean and for the first time the motor vehicles drove into Copper Mine that night, more or less on time. They stopped for a day or two for a rest and during that time with another officer I got a dog team and drove to an Eskimo village. It was very beautiful to see in the dark before one the little dim twinkling lights in the ice village of igloos, the seal oil lamps inside, and to be greeted with crowds of Eskimoes coming out and wanting to shake hands and to have you go into the igloo and spend a night among the very friendly people, and try out their food, which is good for them, it seems, but slightly strange to us—dried fish and things like that, washed down with tea and things like that—and to see the primitive drum dance in the igloos and return to join the snowmobiles.

During the next six days we had rather bad weather. The travelling was pretty hard, over quite high country, rising to 2500 feet from Copper Mine to Great Bear Lake, and on the last day we rather astonished the people at Radium Mines by doing 96 miles in one day. They knew the country, knew it was fairly rough and they didn't think anybody could possibly make nearly a hundred miles in one day. The previous day we had had bad luck. We had engine trouble and rather than repair on the spot we had radioed for another engine. We only had to wait 24 hours for another engine. We changed engines, flew the old engine out and connected up the new one. We just waited one day and made a hundred miles into Radium.

The party that has now crossed since I left them crossed Great Bear Lake into Fort Norman and headed up the Mackenzie toward Fort Nelson. In a few days if all goes well and there is not too much trouble from the breakup which they have now encountered—we see in the papers it is now thawing in the daytime and some of tre rivers are breaking up—they should strike the Alcan Highway, or the Northwest Highway at Fort Norman, and then it is 700 miles into Edmonton, and I expect they will arrive there as scheduled on the 5th of May.

So much then for this Expedition which has taken place in winter in Northern Canada. What about the future? It perhaps should not surprise people if they reflect for a moment that the Services have taken this lead in driving vehicles through Northern Canada, over 1500 miles never traversed by vehicles before, because if you think back to the names of the great Arctic explorers, the great majority have been from the Services, many from the Navy, some of them associated with disaster—but well known names like Scott, Franklin and Parry—those were naval officers—and also Admiral Bird and Admiral Parry.

And in the Services, Champlain—though he was hardly an Arctic Explorer—and Greely, the American Army Officer. So many of the Arctic explorations in the past have been conducted by the Services, and it was always considered a fine thing for the Services to have some men with Arctic experience, not that they expected to fight in the Arctic so much in the past, but it was a good training for them. I think our own Mounted Police find that today. They vie with one another to get to the Arctic. What the future will be in the Services, I do not know, nor to what extent they will continue this work. At present, as you know, I am leaving the Service, and cannot say.

But I do know there will be a continuing and increasing civilian interest. Here in Toronto you have always been interested in the North. There are many reasons why we should be more actively interested in Canada and our own North, and I think you will find that the mining companies will gradually continue to expand, not in Northern Ontario which is away south, but to expand beyond Yellowknife and Radium, and there is no reason why they shouldn't continue to extend even to the barrens beyond when it becomes economically possible.

In order to concentrate the interest in this Arctic work and to make available to people who are interested the information that has already been gathered there has recently been formed in Canada an Arctic Institute of North America, which has been set up in Montreal. It has its officers there and a Director, and the object of this, just like a Mining Institute or an Historical Society, it is to collect together people interested in the Arctic, in the same way as a Mining Institute collects together people interested in Mining, or an Historical Society gathers together people interested in historical matters. I think that is a worthwhile development. It is an international society, set up with people interested in the United States and some interested from Greenland and Alaska and Newfoundland.

Some people who are skeptical may well ask, what is the value of this? I don't think the people here, judging by your Chairman's remarks would think that, but some people although they knew about much of the work in the north are not clear what the value is. Certainly this year it has been possible to travel more easily in the north than ever before, to travel by airplane and snowmobile into parts that were very inaccessible. We learned this winter how to build better snowmobiles which could be used in country parts of Ontario. If you can drive across the Arctic you can also drive over drifts in a farm road in southern Ontario.

We will learn quite a lot about flying planes up there and landing on airports on the ice. We have made a special study of a lot of scientific aspects of the north. The group of scientists we have had on the Expedition and most of the Officers have had some scientific or technical training, practically all of them. They have divided between them 26 subjects which they are studying and keeping careful records. They are keeping careful records of methods of navigation. Navigation near the North Pole is not easy. They are keeping record of the studies of signals, of the health of the men. No Arctic Expedition, so the Medicals tell me, was ever so thoroughly medically examined before they started. They took eight to ten hours to medically examine each man on the Expedition, and they were checked again on their return to civilization as represented by Fort Nelson, so we have learned a lot about people's health in the North.

Clothing was a subject of special study. We had a certain amount of radar equipment along which has been tested. We studied the snow equipment, the snow conditions, and if we are going to design snow equipment that is important to know. We studied ice sicknesses, the Aurora and meteorology. All these things of scientific interest were studied on Expedition Muskox and many results will be made available in due course when collected and assembled.

It is important too, I think, that we should over-test things and the Arctic provides a good place to over-test engine equipment. If an engineer builds a bridge he always, before allowing the public to use it, puts on a heavier load than is likely to be used in operation, and if an automobile manufacturer thinks the public are going to drive a car in weather about freezing he would be well to take steps to see that it would not break down if subjected occasionally to zero weather. Here in Canada we are quite accustomed, in many parts of civilized Canada, to driving cars to 40 below. Then if we can make a vehicle that will operate satisfactorily in the Arctic, we will have very much less trouble in starting in Toronto on a cold December night of the winter if we have had Arctic experience. Even if we don't intend to go to the Arctic it is a good thing to over-test vehicles, in the cold.

The same for clothing. It was possible in winter to keep the men warm, partly by the fact that improved clothing had been developed during the war, partly by simply putting on more clothes, but more clothes became very bulky, and to heap on more clothes means that the men can hardly move. Three pairs of mitts on the hands may be warm, but it is hard to change a spark plug. You can't take the mitts off. So we may make lighter clothing and if it is warm in the Arctic it will be very much lighter down here. So the idea of over-testing I think has a value.

I believe there will be mining developments in the North as it becomes economically possible and travel becomes cheaper and as the cost of certain projects goes up. There are certain studies that must be carried out in the Arctic, not because it is cold or because it is the Arctic, but because we need the information as it affects us down here. The weather we have here in Toronto has come down to us from James Bay and Hudson's Bay, and the Arctic, and the weather here is very similar to weather at Baker Lake 48 hours ago. Unless we know what the weather is we will never be able to make long range weather predictions for flying and steamship routes. We have got to have more information about Arctic weather in order to predict ahead the temperate weather.

Our radio signals—if we listen to short wave radio we have no control over the powers by which they come. Some come over the North Pole and some the South Pole. We need to know something about radio conditions up there in order to get the best reception. And if there is a reason, and apparently there is for having an Observatory at Richmond Hill for studying the stars, or a Magnetic Observatory at Agincourt for studying gravity, and the other geophysic studies we happened to be interested in—it makes no difference to the stars whether they are studied in Toronto or up in the Arctic—it is just as well that we should have a world-wide coverage on many of the different studies which have quite complicated values.

The Arctic is a good training ground. That is another thing, too. If a young officer gets lost on a training scheme at Borden or Petawawa in the summer time and his men get lost they may miss breakfast, they may get wet or lose some sleep, but nothing very serious happens. But if a leader of part of an Arctic Expedition gets lost the consequences are likely to be much more severe, so it is a very excellent training ground for leaders in both peace and war.

And finally, to conclude, I would like to mention to you, if you measure from Point Pelee in the southern part of Canada up to Cape Columbia, the half way point is not in Northern Ontario, but on the southern border of Hudson's Strait. We have a vast Arctic area in the Arctic's three islands—Victoria, Ellesmere and Baffin Island, all of which are larger than the islands of Great Britain.

Another fact people don't often realize is the difference from Point Pelee to Cape Columbia in the north, the distance measured on the globe isn't as great as the distance from Vancouver to Sydney—there is a little bit of Canada that lies west of Vancouver, so it is not quite true to say that Canada is quite as big from north to south as from east to west, but it is nearly true. We have a large territory on which we live on the southern fringe.

This Exercise Muskox has been travelling through the heart of that territory. The distance that it is travelling and which it expects to complete within the course of the next couple of weeks is equivalent to driving a vehicle from Quebec to Vancouver. The 3100 mile route from Churchill to Cambridge Bay to Norman and back to Edmonton is equal to the distance, following the railway from Quebec through Montreal, following to Lethbridge, and from Lethbridge to Vancouver, which means they are driving the distance across the Arctic equivalent to the distance from Quebec to Lethbridge. They are driving cross country all but the last 700 miles. So they have undertaken quite a formidable task and their daily contact are the Air Force on that great distance.

So I think it is true to say we have a very great North, much larger than people realize, a great deal more stretches beyond Exercise Muskox, and beyond that is a great Arctic Ocean. And though still far removed from other countries on the north we are getting closer to them and certainly as far as the north country is concerned that Canadian north country as it never was before is right at our open door today.

"THE NEED FOR CANADIAN MILITARY PREPARATION"

AN ADDRESS BY

GENERAL H. D. G. CRERAR, C.H., C.B., D.S.O.

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, April 25, 1946

MR. THOMPSON: Gentlemen, we are signally honoured today in having with us Canada's most distinguished soldier.

Born in Hamilton, he attended primary schools in that city, Upper Canada College, Toronto and the Royal Military College, Kingston.

During World War I, he served from 1914 to 1918 with great distinction, following which, he decided to devote himself to a military career, attending the Imperial Staff Course at the Staff College in Camberley and afterwards at the Defence College, the latter being the highest seat of military study in the Empire.

He has successively been Commandant of R. M. C., Chief of the Canadian General Staff, a Divisional Commander and finally, General Officer in charge in Command of the First Canadian Army.

When World War 2 broke out, he held the rank of Brigadier and went overseas to prepare for the arrival of Canadian troops. In 1940, he was made a Major General and was brought back to Canada to become Vice-Chief and later Chief of the General Staff. In 1941, he returned to England to command the Second Division and in December, 1943, was given command of the Canadian Corps in Italy with the rank of Lieutenant-General.

He was sent back to Britain in March, 1944, to command the Canadian Army and took charge of the preparations for invasion operations and directed them when the Canadians crossed the Channel in June of that year. He was raised to a full General in November, 1944 and, early the following year, had in his charge the largest force a Canadian ever commanded and what was reported to have been the largest single force on the Western Front.

The Empire Club is indeed proud to be able to present to you, one who in recognition of his achievements has been presented with more decorations than any other Canadian and one who has not only won glory for himself but for his country.

Gentlemen, I present to you, General H. D. G. Crerar, C.H., C.B., D.S.O., who will speak to us on "The Need For Canadian Military Preparation".

GENERAL H. D. G. CRERAR: On 23rd May, last year, —some two weeks only after the Great War in Europe came to its victorious end—I received a cable at my Headquarters in Holland, from the Empire Club of Toronto, asking that I be its guest, and address its members, following my return to Canada. As nearly a year has gone by since this Club did me the honour of this invitation, it would not appear that my acceptance has been very promptly translated into action. And yet, in the circumstances which transpired, following my return to my own country last August, I could not have been your guest much earlier. In the following six months, which only terminated a few weeks ago, when I commenced my "retirement leave", I was working to a schedule which, in truth, gave me no opportunity. And, when that tour of Canada was completed, during which I travelled over thirteen thousand miles, visiting Military and DVA Hospitals and Military Establishments—and saying goodbye to those with whom I had served—I very much needed the month of rest and relaxation, from which I have just returned. I trust, therefore, that these few preliminary remarks will serve to explain the lapse of time since you first paid me the compliment to ask me to be your guest.

I shall now turn to the subject concerning which I would speak to you, today. In the light of my past experiences, it will not cause surprise that I have chosen as my theme the need, the *dominant* need, for the maintenance by Canada, now and in the future, of adequate, efficient Armed Forces, and of the means and machinery required for the speedy military mobilization of all the resources of this country, should resort to war again be the only alternative to a shameful submission. Twice in the lifetime of most Canadians, this country, the British Empire as a whole, and the United States, have been brought, quite unprepared, into the middle of a life or death struggle for our very existence as democratic nations. Twice in each war, in September 1914 and March/April 1918, in the summer of 1940 (the battle of Britain, and the summer of 1942 (the battle of El Alamein) the enemy was within immediate reach of attaining its evil object. Surely, ten years at war in the last three decades of our existence, the inevitability of our concern about, and participation in, any future crisis which may occur, and the manifest critical risks we have run by our previous lack of military preparation are not facts to which we can now close our minds. Nor can any rational person, at this time, come to the conclusion that what the old League of Nations failed to accomplish at Geneva, in the twenty years, or so, of its existence will, in any way, be guaranteed by the new United Nations Organization, in its present and future deliberations in New York State. Humbly, but with great earnestness, I submit that the millennium is not yet with us, and, that if we Canadians are a rational people we must act accordingly.

There are many who argue that with the invention of new weapons of tremendous destructive power—such as the Atomic Bomb—war has become so potentially horrible that no nation can seriously contemplate the employment of military forces to further, or maintain, its external policies. I wish that I could believe this, but I have observed no evidence in my lifetime which leads me to the conclusion that any marked advance in the scientific field is quickly followed by any comparable improvement in the matter of human relations. Science and the humanities are not linked subjects. It follows that to a nation which believes that only through the use of force can its ambitions be achieved, the more devastating the force at its disposal, the more tempting the resort to its employment. Or, to put it differently, a terrible weapon need only be a deterrent to war, to a nation that does not possess it.

I would also caution against the assumption that science has now developed means of destruction to which there is no defence. I am no scientist, but as a soldier who has studied, as well as practised, his profession, I would say that the evidence to date is that what science can invent, science, given time and determination, can generally neutralize, or completely overcome. Certainly, this recurrence has been demonstrated in the matter of weapon development throughout the ages, and I, personally, believe this phenomenon continues to obtain.

To summarize, so far, I submit that we Canadians must face up to the situation that war is yet, as in the recorded past, an instrument of national policy and that its abolition in the years ahead is, by no means, assured. Secondly, it is unsound to argue that war has become "unthinkable" because it is becoming more and more horrible through scientific discoveries. To a potential aggressor, the more devastating his weapons, the more certain the victory. Thirdly, the modern weapon of today, given the urge and the availability of scientific minds, becomes the obsolete weapon of the not too distant future. This, certainly, has been the cycle throughout recorded military history and may reasonably be accepted as obtainable today.

If any Canadian accepts the view that war has not been banished from this world—which view I, myself, hold—then he, or she, must also face up to the dramatic change in the political and military situation of Canada, brought about by recent scientific discoveries and applications. Canada has lost, forever, whatever presumed, or actual, political and military isolation it possessed in the past. If you look at the map or better at the globe, and think, even superficially, of the tremendous range and destructive power of new weapons, some only partially developed, you cannot but agree that, in any war involving the British Commonwealth and the United States, Canada will probably be in the operational "front line"—and from the very outbreak of hostilities. Even if Canadians closed their eyes and minds to the duty of doing their part in maintaining decent international relations, (by resort to force to compel them, if necessary) narrow self-preservation compels Canada to think, and act, in terms of highly efficient military preparation. Time and space no longer count as military factors favouring Canada. A rocket propelled atomic bomb, launched from hundreds of miles outside the sea or land boundaries of Canada is not handicapped by either of these items.

From what I have briefly touched upon, it should also be clear to us, Canadians, that to think, talk and act in terms of static defence of our national boundaries is mischievous, military nonsense. In this era of vastly increasing ranges in the weapons of attack, we must organize not only for the immediate mobilization of efficient and adequate Forces, but also for the immediate dispatch of those Forces against an enemy located, perhaps, many hundreds of miles outside our national boundaries. In the circumstances which I have described, I might add, as a footnote, that the time has certainly come when we should substitute something more dynamic realistic and inspiring for the lines in our Canadian song which read:—"O Canada, We Stand on guard for thee". These words have no sensible political or military application to Canadians, today, if they ever had a measure of either in the past—and they are very bad psychology.

I have given, as my considered views, that Canada will be in any war generally affecting the British Commonwealth and the United States and from the very start;—that there will be no special political or military assistance, as heretofore, from the factors of time and space;—and that, in consequence, Canada requires Armed Forces that are capable, not only of being quickly mobilized, but also of acting speedily with long-range mobility. Having stated these opinions, I turn to the inevitable conclusion which emerges from them—that only by the adoption of compulsory universal military training will this country ever possess the men and the means to meet its potential military requirements, in these contingencies which I think we are required to face.

I have given very briefly, even sketchily, some of the more important arguments which support me in the conclusion which I have just stated to you—that only by the adoption of universal military training in this country will we be able, in the discernable future, to measure up to the situations we might soon be called upon to overcome. I may be wrong, but I believe that the majority of my fellow Canadians would agree that the adoption and application of such a national policy would be acceptable to them, as citizens, if many did not also hold the belief that, say, a year of a young man's life, taken up in such training, would be time lost, so far as his peace-time prospects were concerned. And peace, with prosperity, are the natural aspirations of civilized humanity—*not* preparation for possible war. It seems to me important, therefore, at this time, to produce arguments, which might tend to convince, that time spent in universal military training, if properly organized, can be made an important asset to all young men, and to Canada generally, for peace as much as for war. It would be time very well spent, even should no war occur, *not* time wasted.

To start with, I wish to make the point that it is the national *intent* which lies behind armed forces, and armaments, which cause war, not the possession of a military organization and its equipment. Now, a country possessing a democratic form of government, with a widely enfranchised electorate is, by its very nature, extremely loath to resort to war as an instrument of national policy. A nation with a government quickly responsive to the views of its population, which population enjoys freedom of thought and of speech, can only enter, unitedly, into a war on a basis such as, obvious and undeniable self-preservation or, on a higher plane, in order to maintain the principles of Christian and civilized behaviour in the relations which obtain between the nations on this earth.

To a democracy, such as ours, there can be no popular appeal to join in a war of aggression. Mobilization of public opinion must *precede* mobilization of a democracy's armed forces. And, only a profound conviction amongst the majority of free citizens that civilization, itself, is at stake will produce that necessary basis for action. To put the matter briefly, I deny that the adoption of universal military training in Canada will tend to make Canadians, and their Government, any more disposed than they are, or have been, to resort to war to settle external differences.

This view, if accepted is, however, but a negative argument. As a Canadian citizen, rather than as a soldier, and thinking in terms of our future national development in peace, I would now put before you certain positive advantages to our country which would follow the adoption of universal military training.

I am going to start by drawing to your attention certain important examinations to which every man in the Canadian Army, Overseas, was subject, prior to, or shortly after, his enlistment, and as a result of which his future in the Army, if any, was generally decided. Every man was medically examined, and either accepted or rejected. If accepted, it was often on the basis of subsequent medical correction, or cure, of some physical defect. In many cases, the men, themselves, had no knowledge of the existence of this defect. All men were dentally examined. The amount of dental work which it was found necessary to carry out on a very high proportion of enlisted men, before they could be regarded as fit, was quite staggering. Most of these men were either unaware, or unconcerned, as to their poor dental condition. Finally, by the end of the second year of the war, Personnel Selection Boards were put into force, and tremendous strides were made towards directing each man, having regard to his intelligence, aptitude and psychology, to the arm, or service, or trade, in the Canadian Army, which best suited his particular mental equipment and character.

Now, these three routine examinations, the information derived from them and the decisions it was possible to reach as a result of them, were fundamental bases for the creation of an effective Army—which the First Canadian Army, undoubtedly, was. They are just as essential, in peace, to apply to the young men of this country, in implementing a policy of compulsory military training. And, if so carried out, the contribution they would make to the development of a healthier and happier nation, would be enormous.

In addition to the improvement in our national health which undoubtedly can be obtained if our young men were medically and mentally examined for, and underwent a period of military training, important progress can be made, at the same time, in the further education of these young men in their future responsibilities as citizens, in broadening their knowledge of their own country and thus to develop in them a constructive national outlook and, finally, in "off military duty" hours, in assisting them materially to fit themselves for their future civil vocations or professions.

In the Caandian Army, Overseas, as part of the training syllabus, while in U. K. after V-E Day, periods were allotted each week to addresses and joint discussions by all ranks on "Current Affairs". Under this "umbrella" title, views were propounded and discussions took place on such matters as "Civics"; "The Organization and Operation of different systems of Government"; "The place of Religion in Society"; and many other subjects of paramount importance to every citizen of every country which encourages active individual thought, and the development of a rational public opinion. As our national decisions, social, economic and political, are, nowadays, so intimately dependent upon the reactions of public opinion to any given question, there can be nothing more important to the youth of Canada, and so to the future of our country, than a sound knowledge of the fundamentals of ethics and civics, of economic and social issues, and of our national and local political machinery for dealing with them.

I think that no one will dispute the statement that

Canada is a very large country and is capable of becoming a great and powerful nation. But that potentiality is not made easy of accomplishment by reason of its geography. In the result, our population has shown what might be termed a "ribbon development", pretty well along the extent, and in the vicinity, of our Southern boundary. "Ribbon developments" are a handicap to a nation as much as they are to a community. They make intercommunication difficult, and divergence of views easy, for those who live along them. And yet, we must become more and more Canadian in our outlook, and less and less Provincial, if we are to develop into a great and powerful country.

I believe that the Canadian Army has already made an outstanding contribution to the development of a national outlook among our citizens and I shall give you some of my grounds for this belief. In the summer of 1940, I returned from England to Canada, to take up the appointment of Chief of the General Staff. Shortly after my arrival, I learned that units which had been mobilized on the outbreak of war, a year before, to provide coastal still employed on the same duties and in their original garrisons and guard important vulnerable points, were localities. It was inevitable that their morale was suffering. There is nothing worse for morale than boredom. I obtained authority, therefore, to put into effect a policy of inter-change of duties, and of stations, between all units which still required to be retained in Canada. As a result, Eastern units went to Central and Western Canada and vice versa. I remember one Western Ontario Regiment which I first inspected on the Welland Canal. I next met up with it on Vancouver Island and then, later, saw it on duty in Newfoundland before it, finally went overseas. That unit travelled Canada more extensively, perhaps, than many others, but all of them moved widely, and all their thousands of officers and men, thus learned much about, and grew to appreciate, distant areas and communities of Canada that were previously unknown to them.

I talked to hundreds of these men about their travels in Canada. It was inspiring to hear from them what they had learned about their own vast country, and about the other Canadians who lived in other Provinces—a knowledge essential to our citizens if they are to contribute to the development of national understanding and sound national policies, and which the great majority have been quite unable to obtain for themselves. I urge that this form of national education be maintained. I suggest that it can be if the organization and system of training of the Canadian Armed Forces of the future, based, as they should be, upon universal military training, make full provision for the extensive movement, within Canada, of those who may temporarily serve in it.

In North West Europe, immediately after V-E Day, the First Canadian Army organized and developed comprehensive facilities for academic, vocational and technical courses on a voluntary basis. Before I left Europe, in August last, some 25% of the strength of the Army had taken advantage of the means of rehabilitation training thus afforded. In addition, the Khaki College was set up in the U. K. conducting three months' courses for some six hundred of those in the Army who possessed University qualifications and who intended to proceed with University education on their return to Canada. As regards the courses afforded in N. W. Europe, while enrolment was voluntary, personnel electing to take such courses were required to devote a minimum of six 50 minute periods to them a week.

The academic courses organized by the First Canadian Army, commenced at the elementary level (for those who had little, or no, education) and carried through to Grade XI. There were commercial courses in such subjects as book-keeping, shorthand and typing. And, the pre-vocational and vocational courses, covered an alphabetical range from agriculture and auto mechanics to tinsmithing and welding.

What has been done in the First Canadian Army since "cease-fire" in Europe, in the main, can be quite as readily carried out by those who may be temporarily serving, under a policy of universal military training, in Canada, in peace. It follows that a young man's peace time prospects of employment in civil life could well be improved, during his period of military training, and *not* handicapped as it so widely supposed.

Well, I have just about said my say. The message I have attempted to convey to you can be pretty well covered under four headings. The first would be that war has not been banished from this world—on the contrary, the danger of it's recurrence is a situation which we Canadians must frankly face. The second would be that, in any future war, neither time nor geography will be factors on which this country can count. In a future war, a military policy of having little ready, and of being late in organizing the balance, invites catastrophy. The third would be that only by universal military training in peace, and the maintenance of the means quickly to mobilize large forces, if suddenly required, can this country meet its possible, or even probable, military requirements. The fourth is that, contrary to the view held by many, the period of a young Canadian's life spent undergoing compulsory military training can be so organized that it would prove of great personal advantage to the individual in his future existence in peace. In addition, it would tend to develop an understanding and homogeneity, between the widely scattered groups of our population, which would be of immeasurable value to the future development of Canada.

There will be those who will say that as our great neighbour to the South, the United States, has not yet decided to adopt universal military training, that Canada can "wait and see". Surely, however, this is not representative of the Canadian character. In any event, as I said on a previous occasion, it is high time that as citizens we Canadians thought more deeply in terms of the next generation and much less importantly in terms of the next election. (Applause). Expediency represents neither principle nor policy, in a man, or a nation.

I thank you for your generous attention. I wish, also, to say how very much I have appreciated the kind tributes paid to me by your President, when introducing me. While I can not accept them in a personal sense, I can do so happily as but the representative of that grand body of men who comprised the First Canadian Army, and, on their behalf, I thank you from my heart.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA
ANNUAL MEETING

Chairman: The President, Mr. Eric F. Thompson

Thursday, April 25, 1946

Mr. Thompson: Gentlemen: It is indeed pleasing to see the large audience which has come here to-day to do honour to our guest speaker. We are particularly pleased to have with us on this occasion so many members of the Canadian Military Institute also the Canadian Corps.

This being our Annual Meeting, the procedure will differ slightly from that of the regular luncheons and before introducing our guest of Honour, I shall take a very few minutes to report to the members on the Club year just ending, following which the report of the nominating committee will be received.

The report that I have the pleasure of presenting on behalf of the Executive Committee will come under three headings, namely, Finance, Membership and Work.

Under the heading of Finance, I am very pleased to be able to report that we will end with a surplus on the year's operations of approximately $800, a similar amount to that of the previous year. The complete financial statement will appear in the Year Book.

Under the heading of Membership, we show a net increase of 136 members over last year, bringing our total membership up to 1436. I would like to add that it is our desire to greatly increase this number and we extend a cordial invitation to those who are not members to join the club.

During the past year, we lost 28 members by death and included in this number were two of our Past Presidents, the late Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C., who was a charter member and who was the President during the Club Year of 1911-12, also the late Hon. G. Howard Ferguson, P.C., K.C., who presided in the year 1940-41.

We deeply regret the passing of these two esteemed officers of the Club, both of whom were on our executive during the current club year.

We also mourn the passing of the other club members, the membership of whom we valued greatly and we extend our symyathy to the families of all those who have passed on.

In reporting to you on the work of the year, I would like to tell you that your executive has been most active and I am certain that no President of this club ever had a more energetic and faithful group of men co-operating with him than I have had during the past twelve months. The amount of work done by each sub-committee chairman is, I am afraid, not fully realized by those who have not served on the Club executive and I am deeply grateful to every one of them for their exceptional services.

During the Year, we have held 30 meetings all well attended and your Executive has endeavoured to secure for you, as speakers, the outstanding men of the day and we hope that the result has not only pleased the membership as well as our Radio audience but that in the main the speeches that you have heard have furthered the objects of this club, whose motto is "Canada and a United Empire".

The customary year book containing the addresses given before the Club, will shortly go to press and will, we anticipate, be mailed to members during the summer months.

May I also express the Club's thanks to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for carrying our meetings each week to the large radio audience. From the many letters of appreciation, we have received during the year, our addresses are evidently heard over the air by a vast number of interested listeners.

I will now call upon one of our Past Presidents to come to the microphone, Mr. J. P. Pratt, K.C., who has served on our executive for a number of years and who is one of our most valued officers. Mr. Pratt was the

Chairman of this year's nominating committee and he will now read to you the report of that committee.

MR. PRATT: Gentlemen: The following recommendation of the Nominating Committee for the officers and members of the Executive Committee for the year 1946-47, has been submitted:

President—Major F. L. Clouse.
1st Vice-President—Mr. Tracy E. Lloyd.
2nd Vice-President—Mr. H. G. Haynes.
3rd Vice-President—Mr. George Hardy.
Honorary Secretary—Mr. Ford Ralph.
Honorary Treasurer—
and Treasurer—Mr. W. W. Comber.
Honorary Auditor—Mr. H. T. Jamieson.

Executive Committee:

Col. F. F. Arnoldi, D.S.O.
Mr. H. C. Bourlier.
Mr. Chas. Byford.
Lt. Col. J. H. Bennett.
Major E. F. Coke.
Mr. J. A. Cole.
Mr. Horace Harpham.
Mr. Warren B. Hastings.
Mr. Sydney Hermant.
Mr. T. H. Howse.
Mr. G. A. Lascelles.
Mr. J. Q. Maunsell, K.C.
Mr. F. Beverley Matthews, K.C.
Mr. J. P. Pratt, K.C.
Mr. T. A. Pugsley.
Lt. Col. H. C. Tutte.
Mr. L. A. Winter.

Ex-officio members of the Executive Committee:
Immediate Past President:
Mr. E. F. Thompson.

Past Presidents:
Mr. W. Eason Humphries.
Mr. C. R. Conquergood.
Mr. J. F. M. Stewart.

I move that this Report be accepted.

MR. THOMPSON: Gentlemen: You have heard the report of the nominating committee, which has been duly moved by Mr. Pratt and seconded by Mr. Conquergood, are there any further nominations, if not, I declare the nominations closed and those, whose names you have heard, to be elected by acclamation.

I shall now call upon our President elect Major F. L. Clouse to speak to us.

MR. CLOUSE: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of The Empire Club: I greatly appreciate this honour and I wish to express my thanks to the Nominating Committee and to you. At least, I may truthfully say that I have been reared in an Empire Club atmosphere—going back to the year 1903, when my esteemed father and a few other worthy gentlemen founded this Club. I assure you that I will do my utmost to serve the Club faithfully and maintain its traditions and precepts. A strong Executive Committee has been appointed for the year 1946-47 and you may look forward confidently to the coming year proving an excellent one.

I would like to pay a tribute to our retiring President. Eric Thompson has worked most assiduously for many years in the interests of this Club. His term as President finds the Club in excellent shape, not only in a monetary sense, but in an increased membership—increased in numbers as well as in loyalty and interest. Mr. Thompson—on behalf of the members and our large audience-of-the-air as well—please accept our thanks for your untiring efforts and wise counsel in the office you now relinquish.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, TORONTO, ONTARIO
THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH APRIL, 1946

Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1945				$1,888.54
RECEIPTS				
Membership Fees		$5,566.00		
Interest:				
On Investments	$23.25			
On Bank Balance	41.17			
		64.42		
			$5,630.42	
PAYMENTS				
Luncheon Expenses	$5,946.86			
Less:				
Proceeds of Sale of Tickets	5,572.00			
		$ 374.86		
Furniture and Fixtures		32.50		
Honoraria:				
Secretary	$ 400.00			
Treasurer	299.97			
		699.97		
Miscellaneous Expenses		296.30		
Printing, Stationery and Postage		1,176.94		
Printing 1944-1945 Year Book	$1,790.07			
Less: Proceeds of Sale	289.00			
		1,501.07		
Recording and Publicity		397.40		
Speakers' Fees and Expenses		407.38		
Telephone and Telegraph		272.60		
			5,159.02	
Excess of Receipts over Payments excluding Investment transactions			$ 471.40	
Investment made:				
Dominion of Canada Ninth Victory Loan Bonds Par Value $1,500.00		$1,507.50		
Less:				
Proceeds of Sale of Dominion of Canada First War Loan Par Value $1,000.00		1,057.00		
			450.00	
				20.90
Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1946				$1,909.44

We report that we have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, for the year ended 30th April, 1946, and have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and that, in our opinion, the above Statement shows correctly the Receipts and Payments of the Club for the year ended 30th April, 1946.

In addition to the cash balance of $1,909.44, the Club holds $1,500.00 Dominion of Canada 3% Ninth Victory Loan Bonds due 1st September, 1966.

As at 30th April, 1946 the Club was committed to publish the 1945-46 Year Book at an estimated cost of $1,600.00.

H. T. Jameson & Company,
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

18th June, 1946.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

PAST HONORARY PRESIDENTS:

*1903-1912	Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L.
*1913-1926	Field Marshal H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., G.C.M.G.
*1927-1931	Rt. Hon. Viscount Willingdon, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.
1931-1935	Rt. Hon. The Earl of Bessborough, P.G., G.C.M.G.
*1935-1940	Rt. Hon. Lord Tweedsmuir, G.C.M.G., C.H.

PAST PRESIDENTS:

*1902-05	Brig.-Gen. James Mason
*1905-06	Rev. William Clark, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.
*1906-07	J. P. Murray, Esq.
1907-08	J. F. M. Stewart, Esq., B.A.
*1908-09	D. J. Goggin, Esq., M.A., D.C.L.
1909-10	Elias Clouse Esq., M.D.
*1910-11	J. Castell Hopkins, Esq., F.R.S.
*1911-12	F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Esq., K.C.
*1912-13	Rt. Rev. James F. Sweeney, M.A., D.D., D.C.L.
*1913-14	Mr. Justice James Craig
*1914-15	Lt.-Col. R. J. Stuart
*1915-16	Albert Ham, Esq., Mus. Doc.
*1916-17	James Black Perry, Esq.
*1917-18	Norman Sommerville, Esq., M.A., K.C.
1918	F. J. Coombs, Esq.
1919	R. A. Stapells, Esq.
*1920	Arthur Hewitt, Esq.
*1921	Brig. Gen. C. H. Mitchell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., LL.D.
*1922	Sir William Hearst, K.C.M.G., K.C., LL.D.
1923	Ellis H. Wilkinson, Esq.
1924	William Brooks, Esq.
*1925	Rev. R. N. Burns, D.D.
1926	Col. A. E. Kirkpatrick, Hon. A.D.C., V.D.
*1927	Col. Alexander Fraser, LL.D., A.D.C.
1928	Robert H. Fennell, Esq., K.C.
*1929	Hugh S. Eayrs, Esq.
*1930	John D. Spence, Esq., B.A., K.C.
1931	H. G. Stapells, Esq., K.C.
1932-33	Lt.-Col. The Hon. Geo. A. Drew, V.D., A.D.C.
1933-34	Major W. Jas. Baxter, M.C.
1934-35	Hon. Dana H. Porter, K.C.

* Deceased

1935-36	J. H. Brace, Esq.
1936-37	Major G. B. Balfour, B.A., K.C.
1937-38	Major R. M. Harcourt
1938-39	J. P. Pratt, Esq., K.C.
1939-40	F. A. Gaby, Esq., B.A.Sc., D.Sc.
1940-41	The Honourable G. Howard Ferguson, P.C. (Can.), K.C.
1941-42	C. R. Sanderson, Esq., M.A., B.Sc.
1942-43	John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.
1943-44	W. Eason Humphreys, Esq.
1944-45	Charles R. Conquergood.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

Officers and Executive Committee

Year 1946-47

Officers:

President: Major F. L. Clouse
First Vice-President: Tracy E. Lloyd
Second Vice-President: H. G. Haynes
Third Vice-President: George Hardy
Honorary Secretary: Ford Ralph
Secretary: Lieut.-Col. John Hyde Bennett
Honorary-Treasurer and Treasurer: W. W. Comber, C.A.
Honorary Auditor: H. T. Jamieson, F.C.A.

Executive Committee:

Col. F. F. Arnoldi
H. C. Bourlier
Chas. Byford
Major E. F. Coke
J. A. Cole
Horace Harpham
Warren B. Hastings
Sydney Hermant
T. H. Howse
G. A. Lascelles
J. Q. Maunsell, K.C.
Brig. F. Beverley Matthews, K.C.
J. P. Pratt, K.C.
T. A. Pugsley
Lieut.-Col. H. C. Tutte (S.A.)
L. A. Winter

Immediate Past President:

Eric F. Thompson

Past Presidents:

W. Eason Humphries
C. R. Conquergood
J. F. M. Stewart

CONSTITUTION

INSTITUTED 1903

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the Club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The Membership of the Club shall consist of

(a) Active Resident Members,
(b) Non-Resident Members,
(c) Life Members,
(d) Honorary Members,
(e) Associate Members,
(f) Corporate or Sustaining Members.

All members must be of the full age of sixteen years, and members of classes (a), (b), (c), (d) and (f) must be British subjects.

Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meetitng of the Executive Committee.

(2) Subject to sub-section 4 of this article Active Resident and Associate members shall pay an annual fee of $4.00 and Non-Resident members $3.00, payable on or before the first day of October in each year. Payment of such fees shall entitle each member to receive a copy of the Year Book. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

(3) Associate members shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

(4) Members whose applications for membership are received after the first day of April in any year shall pay one annual fee only in respect of the period from that time till the 30th day of September in the following calendar year.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $50.00 in one sum.

Honorary Members

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Corporate or Sustaining Members

Art. 5A—Any company, partnership or business organization shall be eligible for election as a Corporate or Sustaining Member. Applicants shall be proposed by two Active Resident Members of the Club in good standing and the application shall contain the name and position of the Officer nominated by the Applicant as its Candidate for membership. The Applicant and its Nominee shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee. A Sustaining or Corporate Member shall pay an annual fee of $50.00 which shall include the fee of its representative member.

Officers to Be Elected

Art. 6—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second and Third Vice-Presidents; an Honorary Treasurer, or a Treasurer, or both; an Honorary Secretary or a Secretary, or both; an Executive Committee which shall consist of the officers appointed under this Article and 17 other members, who, with the officers, shall be elected by ballot, and of the ex-officio members hereinafter mentioned. There may also be elected an Assistant Secretary and Assistant Treasurer. Three Past Presidents together with the immediate Past President shall be the ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Election of Officers

(2) The election of Officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held not later than April 30 of each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. The Officers and Executive Committee then elected shall hold office until April 30th, of the following year, and thereafter until their successors respectively have been duly elected and installed. A Nominating Committee consisting of five members of the Executive Committee and four other members (this Committee shall select its own Chairman) shall be appointed by the Executive Committee and ap-

proved at a regular or special meeting of the Club not less than four and not more than six weeks before such Annual meeting, due notice of such regular or special meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such Committee shall report to the Annual Meeting. If nominations do not exceed the number of the officers and members of the Executive Committee necessary under the Constitution, the President shall instruct the Secretary to cast one ballot in favour of those so nominated and thereupon such persons shall be declared by the President to have been duly elected.

(3) An Auditor or Honorary Auditor shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Standing Committees

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:

(a) Budget and Finance Committee.
(b) Speakers' Committee.
(c) Membership Committee.
(d) Constitution Committee.
(e) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
(f) Publicity Committee.
(g) Year Book Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the Officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly, if possible, from October to April, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. An audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year shall be published in the Year Book.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual or special, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Nine members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the addresses and notices of motion shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year of the Club shall begin on the first day of May in each year and end on the thirtieth day of April in the year following.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two thirds majority vote of the members present.

MEMBERSHIP

as at April 30, 1946

MEMBERS WITH HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES

(Carried as Honorary Members)

*Aird, Major W. H.
*Beardsworth, H.
*Bond, E. A.
*Burnaby, Capt. F. Harding
Crawford-Brown, Norman
*Davis, Bruce P.
*Dunlap, D. M.
*Gale, Capt. George T.
Gibson, Maj.-Gen. R. B.
Gilbert, C. A.
Gilmour, Thos. W.
Grasett, Lieut.-Col. S. H. B., V.D.
*Houghton, Flying Officer E. O.
*Johnston, Erskine B.
*Jolliffe, Lt. Col. W. H.
Lee, Flying Officer, H. T. I.
Massey, Squadron Ldr. Denton
Matthews, Flight Lieut. A Beech
*Matthews, Flight Lieut. Paul W.
*Noyes, G. R. Finch
*Nunn, Squad. Ldr. Norman A.
*Parks, Capt. Arthur H.
*Pickup, J. D.
*Watson, Col. W. H.
*Wilkes, Lt.-Col. F. Hilton
*Wilson, Hugh.

*Transferred to Active Resident Membership for 1946-47.

LIFE MEMBERS

Bickell, J. P.
Bruce, Hon. Dr. Herbert
Clouse, Dr. Elias
Clouse, F. L.
Cobham, Arthur H.
Coombs, F. J.
Johnson, E. E.
MacKendrick, Col. W. G.
Maher, James P.
McWhinney, W. J., K.C.
Murdoch, Jas. Y., K.C., LL.D.
Scythes, J. A.
Stapells, H. G., K.C.
Stapells, R. A.
Stewart, J. F. M.
Tindall, H. B.

HONORARY MEMBERS

Bourlier, H. C.
Geary, Major B. Handley, V.C.
Gillespie, Lt.-Col. George H.

CORPORATE OR SUSTAINING MEMBERS

Imperial Optical Company
Hermant, Percy

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

Ahern, E. G.
Baker, Robert P.
Banks, E. H.
Beaumont, Arthur
Boyd, Mossom de G.
Bradley, Bruce H.
Bradley, E.
Cameron, Capt. J. Duncan
Cawthra-Elliott, Maj. Gen. H. M.
Davidson, George MacK.
Davis, Aubrey
Dunlop, R. H.
Empringham, John R.
Fraser, Alasdair D. R.
Hale, C. Harold
Hitchcock, C. H.
Hooper, Col. B. O., D.S.O., M.C.
Hudson, J. P.
Hughes, Gordon R.
Humphrey, H. J.
Humphries, G. W.
Hutcheson, Frank W.
Innes, Rev. T. Christie, M.A.
Jackson, E. H.
Kidd, Hon. T. Ashmore
Kreswick, D. A.
Leather, Harold H.
Livingston, J. A.
Lovell, E. A.
MacLennan, H. Alexander
MacRae, John
McCulley, Joseph
McIntosh, C. H.
McLaughlin, Col. R. S.
McLean, W. A.
Medland, C. R.
Moffat, John A.
Moffat, J. Mel
Over, Spencer Henry
Prince, Col. Alan C.
Raycroft, R. I.
Rice, H. E.
Richardson, Dr. R. N. C.
Ryan, John
Shergold, Lt.-Col. C.
Steele, C. E.
Thompson, J. R.
Wideman, Harvey
Wood, Chester F.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

Abbs, Chas. E.
Ackehurst, A. V.
Adair, Herbert E.
Adams, A. A.
Adams, G. W.
Adams, J. C.
Affleck, A.
Agar, Norman E.
Ahuja, M. R.
Akins, W. George
Alberts, Edgar T.
Alexander, John B.
Alexander, R. W.
Alexander, Samuel
Allanson, Harry E.
Allen, Geo. H.
Allen, Thomas
Allnutt, Rev. F. B., D.TH.
Ambrose, J. R. W.
Ander, J.
Anderson, C. Harry
Anderson, E. H.
Anderson, George
Anderson, J. Murray
Anderson, W. L.
Andrecheck, E. J.
Andrews, S. J.
Andrews, T. E.
Angus, W. Harry
Appleton, C. N.
Archdekin, W. O.
Argo, J. A.
Armour, Rev. J. B. M., M.A., LL.D.
Armstrong, J. H.
Armstrong, W. J.
Arnold, George A.
Arnoldi, Col. F. F., D.S.O. & BAR

Ashford, F. Allen
Askin, R. J.
Atkinson, Fred
Atkinson, F. L.
Auerbach, O.
Aziz, J.

Babayan, Levon
Babbitt, G. W.
Babcock, Harold A.
Bailey, Baldwin W.
Bain, George
Bain, H. R.
Bainard, R. H.
Baker, Col. E. A.
Baker, E. G.
Baker, Geo. A.
Baker, T. H.
Balfour, Gordon B., K.C.
Balfour, Keith C.
Ballard, B. W.
Band, Chas. S.
Barber, Geo.
Barber, William
Barbour, Royden M.
Bark, W. A.
Barrett, Brian N.
Barry, Harry C.
Bartholomew, F. W. E.
Bartley, Geo. E.
Bartman, G. M.
Bate, Wm. B.
Bates, Rev. F. W.
Bates, Wm. D.
Batten, Reg. A.
Baxter, Major W. James
Baylis, A. J.
Beairsto, A. H. C.
Bealey, Ernest R.
Beardmore, S. H.
Beare, W. B.
Beatty, C. W.
Beatty, Dr. Hy. A., M.R.C.S.
Beatty, W.
Bedford, Harold F.
Bedford, Morley S.
Bedolfe, Robert D.
Beeston, Geo. H.
Begley, Geo. E.
Bell, Lt.-Col. Arthur A.
Bell, Dr. W. J.
Belyea, A. E.
Bennett, A. B.
Bennett, E. J.
Bennett, Lieut-Col. J. H.
Bennett, Major James W.
Bennett, Norman D.
Bennett, Lt.-Col. Peter W.
Benson, D. F.
Berkinshaw, N. W.
Berkinshaw, R. C.
Bernard, M.
Berry, N. T.
Best, T. Harrison
Best, T. W.
Bevan, G. H.
Bickle, E. W.
Bingham, Rev. Dr. H. H.
Binnington, H. J.
Birkenshaw, J. H.
Bishop, Colonel A. L.
Bishop, G.
Bishop, H. H.
Blackwell, B. S.
Blackwell, H. W.
Blackwell, Hon. Leslie E.
Blanchet, Reginald J.
Bland, Rev. Salem G.
Boag, Ernest C.
Boase, J. B.
Boehm, A. Fred
Bogart, Ernest, C., K.C.
Bogert, C. A.
Bolger, H. N.
Bomby, W. S.
Bone, Fred A.
Bongard, Gordon R.
Bongard, R. R.
Bonnell, W. H. M.
Booth, Jake M.
Boustred, R. Warren
Bowers, E. J.
Bowman, Capt. Tom E.
Boxer, Reginald N.
Boylen, J. C.
Boyter, J. B.
Brathwaite, F. Y. W.

Brittain, Horace L.
Broadley, A. E.
Brockwell, Meredith R.
Brooke, Arthur T.
Brookes, Air Vice Marshal G.E.
Brooks, Chas. C.
Brooks, W.
Brown, D. Leslie
Brown, F. I.
Brown, James N. M.
Brown, Murray
Brown, Ross S.
Brown, Stuart H.
Brown, W. E.
Brown, President W. T.
Browne, R. J.
Brownlee, Rev. E. A.
Bryce, Very Rev. Peter, D.D.
Bryce, Robt. A.
Bryson, R. N.
Bull, W. Perkins, K.C., LL.D.
Burgess, John H.
Burke, E. T. C.
Burn, Grant M.
Burnett, E. R.
Burns, H. D.
Burt, A. W.
Burton, C. L.
Burton, E. G.
Bush, Clayton E.
Bushnell, Wm. J.
Butt, Dr. W. H.
Byford, Charles
Byrne, A. T.

Caffrey, W. J.
Calder, B. R.
Calvin, C. C.
Cameron, A. J.
Cameron, Harry
Campbell, Andrew
Campbell, Dr. Colin A.
Campbell, E. M.
Cane, A. W
Capell, S. L.
Carey, A. R.
Carl, Gordon A.
Carlisle, C. H
Carnegie, F. T.
Carnegie, N. F.
Carradus, Capt. H. R.
Carriere, S. W.
Carroll, Frank J.
Carruthers, Geo.
Carruthers, Geo. L.
Carscallen, H. M.
Carson, C. E.
Carson, James L.
Carter, F. H.
Carthy, Dr. W. C.
Cartwright, Brig. Gen. G. S.
Case, Everett J.
Cassidy, H. F.
Caulder, J. A.
Caven, Dr. W. R.
Chalmers, Floyd S.
Chambers, Frank H., LL.B.
Chambers, Karl E.
Charles, Leo E.
Chester, Lane R.
Chipman, Lt.-Col. J. H.
Chisholm, Lt.-Col. Geo. T.
Clark, C. T.
Clark, John G.
Clark, Dr. Stanley K.
Clark, Dr. Wm. J.
Clarke E. E.
Clarke, G. J.
Clarke, W. H.
Clarkson, G. T.
Cliff, Geo. J.
Cockburn, Blake A.
Cody, Hon. and Rev. H.J., C.M.G.
Coke, Major E. F.
Colberg, A. M.
Colby, S. A.
Cole, Joseph A.
Colebrook, H. G.
Coles, Gordon E.
Coles, Kenneth
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Lovering, His Honor Judge Egerton
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Sherbut, James
Sherk, Frank T.
Shevlen, W. A.
Shiach, Harold A.
Shields, C. B.
Shiels, M. S.
Shier, Dr. R. V. B.
Shortt, Maurice J.
Sibbald, S. J.
Sifton, Major Clifford
Simpson, James I.
Sims, R. L.
Sinclair, Gordon
Sinclair, Leslie L.
Sinclair, Neil, K.C.
Singer, J. G.
Slater, Leslie Geo.
Slatkin, Alfred D.
Sloan, W. G.
Small, S. A.
Smallacombe, Wm. J.
Smalley, F. W.
Smallpeice, V. N.
Smith, A. Bayard
Smith, A. L.
Smith, F. D. L.
Smith, Capt. G. C.
Smith, Gordon
Smith, Gordon Ewen
Smith, H. M.
Smith, Harry R.
Smith, Irving D.
Smith, J. A.
Smith, S. E. V.
Smith, S. G.
Smith, Dr. Sidney
Smith, S. Titchener
Smith, W. C.
Smuck, Frank
Snider, C. H. J.
Snively, Major A. C.
Snowdon, C. Allen
Soltermann, Jules R.
Sommerville, Wm. E.
Southall, H. L.
Sparling, E. M.
Spence, Dr. R. J.
Spence, Dr. W. A.
Spooner, C. H.
Spooner, Lt.-Col. R. T.
Springett, Rev. E. J.
Sproule, M. L.
Staal, A.
Stafford, E. J.
Stainton, Rev. Harold
Stalker, N. O.
Stanley, J. N.
Stanley, R. D.
Stanley, Richard T.
Stapells, Arthur A.
Steiner, E. A.
Stephenson, H. R.
Sterne, Harry C.
Stevens, V. S.
Stewart, Dr. A. E.
Stewart, Alan E.
Stewart, D. E.
Stewart, Dunlop
Stewart, J. Cecil
Stewart, Wm. J., O.B.E.
Stickney, M. R.
Stodart, A. B
Stoddart, George W.
Stoddart. W. H.
Stoneham, G/C. D. W.
Stoneman, Harry P.
Storey, Gilbert C.
Strong, Gerald
Stutz, B. J.
Summers, G. F.
Sutherland, Harry L.

Sutton, Thomas A.
Suydam, J. C.
Symons, H. L.

Taylor, C. W.
Taylor, Donald
Taylor, E. Geo. T.
Taylor, E. P.
Taylor, John E.
Taylor, Reginald W.
Tedman, Harry M.
Therrien, James A.
Thomas, H. O.
Thomas, R. H.
Thompson, Alexander G.
Thompson, Arthur C.
Thompson, Major A. O.
Thompson, E. F.
Thompson, Geo. W.
Thompson, Gordon V.
Thompson, Harry T.
Thompson, J. W.
Thompson, Murray O.
Thompson, P. Delos
Thomson, H. G.
Tidy, Major Frank O.
Tilston, Charles E.
Tinning, Stanley E.
Tolchard, F. D.
Tory, John A.
Townsend, J. C.
Tredway, Wm. G.
Trow, Dr. E. J.
Tudhope, H. R.
Tupper, Charles
Turner, E. H.
Turner, James
Turville, Frank D.
Tuteur, Capt. M. P.
Tutte, Lt-Col. H. C. (S.A.)

Urquhart, Norman C.

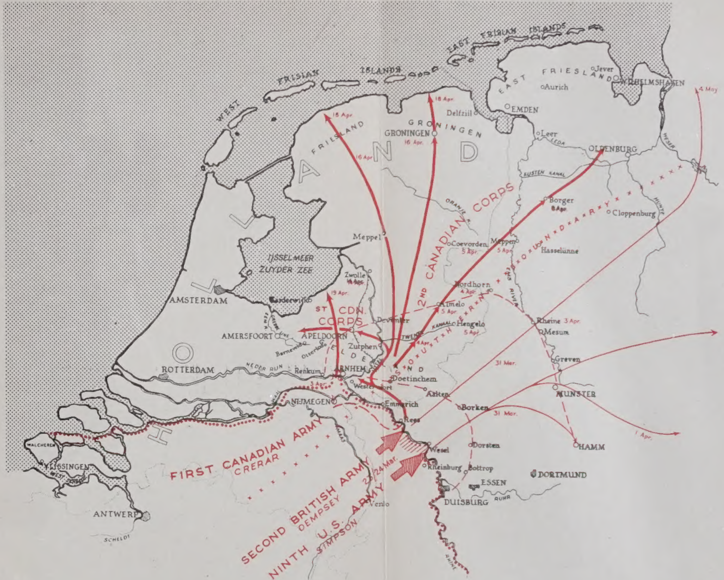
Vandervoort, Arthur E.
Van Koughnet, Arthur
Van Lane, J. F.
Van Nest, F. J.
Van Nostrand, C. I.
Vanstone, B. S.
Van Wart, Capt. Horace
Varty, W. George
Vatcher, T. G.
Vaughan, J. J.
Vaughan, J. W.
Vetter, E. L.
Virgin, W. H.
Virtue, Roy A.
Von Maur, Jacob D.

Waddington, F. G.
Wagner, William A.
Waldie, R. S.
Waldruff, E. H.
Walker, Aitken
Walker, E. B
Walker, H. C.
Walker, Wm.
Walmsley, Joseph
Walsh, Fred T.
Walters, Chester
Walters, Fred Y.
Walton, George E.
Ward, Rev. Canon J. E.
Wardropper, J.
Warmoll, C. R.
Warren, Dr. C. A.
Warren, Harold D.
Warwick, Geo. R.
Warwick, R. D.
Waters, W. Keith
Watkins, William B.
Watson, George E.
Watson, W. G
Watt, Donald R.
Way, H. J.
Weale, W. H.
Weeks, A. L.
Weiner, Henry
Welbourn, Major Bram, (S.A.)
Welch, Frank
Welch, Frank E.
Weldon, W. J.
Wells, E. F.
Wemp, Major Bert S.
West, Reg. C.
Weston, J. F.
Westren, John
Whelan, E.

Whidden, Dr. Howard P.
White, Andrew B.
White, Frank W.
White, G. C.
White, H. F.
White, R. B.
White, Sir Thos.
Whiteley, J.
Wickware, Major R. A.
Wiglesworth, H. L.
Wilbur, G. P.
Wildblood, G. W.
Wilgress, A. T.
Wilkins, Cyril H.
Wilkinson, E. H.
Wilkinson, Rev. Canon F. H., M.A., B.D.
Williams, A. W.
Williams, B. H.
Williams, Frank D.
Williams, H. H.
Williams, Dr. J. J.
Williams. Dr. J. P. F.
Williams, R. T.
Williamson, Rutherford
Willinsky, Dr. A. I.
Wilson, Alex.
Wilson, A. E.
Wilson, Alex. L.
Wilson, C. Douglas
Wilson, C. Lesslie
Wilson, Geo.
Wilson, G. D.
Wilson, Lt. Col. R. S.
Wilson, T. A.
Winchell, L. F.
Winter, L. A.
Winters, C. E.
Wolfenden, Hugh H.
Wolfson, Norman
Wood, F. P.
Wood, George H.
Wood, L. M.
Wood, R. J.
Woodcock, Rev. Canon H. F. D.
Woodland, J C.
Woolnough, W. H.
Wright, D. G. H.
Wright, E. Frank
Wright, L. V.
Wright, Capt. Palmer
Wyatt H. L.
Wynston, Arthur L.

Young, Professor C. R.
Young, Cyril T.
Young, H. G.
Young, John A.
Young, T. S.
Young, W. T.

Zinkan, Dr. E. I.



WEST FRISIAN ISLANDS
EAST FRISIAN ISLANDS
EAST FRIESLAND
Jever
WILHELMSHAVEN
Aurich
EMDEN
Leer
LEDA
OLDENBURG
KUSTEN KANAL
WESER
HUNTE
4 May
Delfzijl
GRONINGEN
GRONINGEN
16 Apr.
18 Apr.
18 Apr.
16 Apr.
FRIESLAND
HOLLAND
ORANJE K.
2ND CANADIAN CORPS
Borger
8 Apr.
Cloppenburg
Meppel
Coevorden
5 Apr.
Meppen
5 Apr.
Hasselünne
IJSSELMEER
ZUYDER ZEE
Zwolle
14 Apr.
Nordhorn
4 Apr.
EMS RIVER
SOUTHERN BOUNDARY
AMSTERDAM
Harderwijk
19 Apr.
1ST CDN. CORPS
Almelo
5 Apr.
Deventer
Hengelo
5 Apr.
TWENTE KANAAL
4 Apr.
Rheine
3 Apr.
Mesum
AMERSFOORT
APELDOORN
Barneveld
Otterlo
Zutphen
GELDERLAND
Greven
31 Mar.
ROTTERDAM
NEDER RIJN
Renkum
ARNHEM
3 Apr.
Doetinchem
Westervoort
Aalten
MUNSTER
NIJMEGEN
Emmerich
Borken
31 Mar.
Rees
1 Apr.
WALCHEREN
VLISSINGEN
WEST SCHELDT
FIRST CANADIAN ARMY
CRERAR
MAAS
23/24 Mar.
Wesel
Dorsten
HAMM
Rheinburg
Bottrop
DORTMUND
ESSEN
SECOND BRITISH ARMY
DEMPSEY
DUISBURG
RUHR
NINTH U.S. ARMY
SIMPSON
Venlo
ANTWERP
SCHELDT
RHINE